CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY.

THE LIFE OF SIR MATTHEW HALE, KNIGHT.
THE LIFE OF REV. JOSEPH ALLEINE.
THE LIFE OF NATHANAEL HEYWOOD.

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THE LIFE

OF

SIR MATTHEW HALE, KNT

LATE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND

BY GILBERT BURNET, D. D

BISHOP OF SARUM.

THE LIFE

OF

SIR MATTHEW HALE, KNIGHT.

CHAPTER I.

Matthew Hale was born at Alderley in Gloucestershire, November 1st, 1609. His grandfather was Robert Hale, an eminent clothier in Wotton-under-Edge, in that county, where he and his ancestors had lived for many descents; and they had given several parcels of land for the use of the poor, which are enjoyed by them to this day. This Robert acquired an estate of ten thousand pounds, which he divided almost equally among his five sons, besides the portions he gave his daughters, from whom a numerous posterity has sprung. His second son was Robert Hale, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn: he married Joan, the daughter of Matthew Poyntz, of Alderley, Esquire, who was descended from that noble family of the Poyntz's of Acton. Of this marriage there was no other issue but this one son. His grandfather by his mother was his godfather, and gave him his own name at his baptism. His father was a man of that strictness of conscience, that he gave over the practice of the law, because

he could not understand the reason of giving colour in pleadings, which as he thought was to tell a lie; and that, with some other things commonly practised, seemed to him contrary to that exactness of truth and justice which became a Christian; so that he withdrew himself from the inns of court, to live on his estate in the country. Of this I was informed by an ancient gentleman that lived in a friendship with his son for fifty years; and he heard Judge Jones, who was Mr. Hale's contemporary, declare this in the King's Bench. But as the care he had to save his soul made him abandon a profession in which he might have raised his family much higher, so his charity to his poor neighbours made him not only deal his alms largely among them while he lived, but at his death he left (out of his small estate, which was one hundred pounds a year) twenty pounds a year to the poor of Wotton, which his son confirmed to them with some addition, and with this regulation, that it should be distributed among such poor housekeepers as did not receive the alms of the parish; for to give it to those was only, as he used to say, to save so much money to the rich, who by law were bound to relieve the poor of the parish.

Thus he was descended rather from a good than a noble family; and yet what was wanting in the insignificant titles of high birth and noble blood was more than made up in the true worth of his ancestors. But he was soon deprived of the happiness of his father's care and instruc

tion; for as he lost his mother before he was three years old, so his father died before he was five; so early was he cast on the providence of God. But that unhappiness was, in a great measure, made up to him; for after some opposition made by Mr. Thomas Poyntz, his uncle by his mother, he was committed to the care of Anthony Kingscot, of Kingscot, Esquire, who was his next kinsman, after his uncles, by his mother.

Great care was taken of his education, and his guardian intended to breed him to be a divine; and, being inclined to the way of those then called Puritans, put him to some schools that were taught by those of that party, and in the seventeenth year of his age sent him to Magdalen Hall, in Oxford, where Obadiah Sedgwick was his tutor. He was an extraordinary proficient at school, and for some time at Oxford; but the stage players coming thither, he was so much corrupted by seeing many plays, that he almost wholly forsook his studies. By this he not only lost much time, but found that his head came to be thereby filled with such vain images of things, that they were at best unprofitable, if not hurtful to him; and being afterward sensible of the mischief of this, he resolved, upon his coming to London, (where he knew the opportunities of such sights would be more frequent and inviting,) never to see a play again; to which he constantly adhered.

The corruption of a young man's mind in one particular generally draws on a great many

more after it; so he, being now taken off from following his studies, and from the gravity of his deportment, that was formerly eminent in him far beyond his years, set himself to many of the vanities incident to youth, but still preserved his purity, and a great probity of mind. He loved fine clothes, and delighted much in company; and, being of a strong robust body, he was a great master at all those exercises that required much strength. He also learned to fence and handle his weapons; in which he became so expert, that he worsted many of the masters of those arts: but as he was exercising of himself in them, an instance appeared, that showed a good judgment, and gave some hopes of better things. One of his masters told him he could teach him no more, for he was now better at his own trade than himself was. This Mr. Hale looked on as flattery: so, to make the master discover himself, he promised him the house he lived in, for he was his tenant, if he could hit him a blow on the head; and bade him do his best, for he would be as good as his word. So, after a little engagement, his master being really superior to him, hit him on the head, and he performed his promise; for he gave him the house freely, and was not unwilling at that rate to learn so early to distinguish flattery from plain and simple truth.

He now was so taken up with martial matters, that, instead of going on in his design of being a scholar, or a divine, he resolved to be a soldier; and his tutor Sedgwick going into the

Low Countries, chaplain to the renowned Lord Vere, he resolved to go along with him, and to trail a pike in the Prince of Orange's army. But a happy stop was put to this resolution, which might have proved so fatal to himself, and have deprived the age of the great example he gave, and the useful services he afterward did his country. He was engaged in a suit of law with Sir William Whitmore, who laid claim to some part of his estate; and his guardian being a man of a retired temper, and not made for business, he was forced to leave the university, after he had been three years in it, and go to London to solicit his own business. Being recommended to Sergeant Glanvil for his counsellor, and he observing in him a clear apprehension of things, and a solid judgment, and a great fitness for the study of the law, took pains upon him to persuade him to forsake his thoughts of being a soldier, and to apply himself to the study of the law; and this had so good an effect on him, that on November 8th, 1629, when he was past the twentieth year of his age, he was admitted into Lincoln's Inn; and being then deeply sensible how much time he had lost, and that idle and vain things had overrun and almost corrupted his mind, he resolved to redeem the time he had lost, and followed his studies with a diligence that could scarce be believed, if the signal effects of it did not gain it credit. He studied for many years at the rate of sixteen hours a day: he threw aside all fine clothes, and betook himself to a plain

fashion, which he continued to use in many points to his dying day.

But since the honour of reclaiming him from the idleness of his former course of life is due to the memory of that eminent lawyer, Sergeant Glanvil, and since my design in writing is to propose a pattern of heroic virtue to the world, I shall mention one passage of the sergeant, which ought never to be forgotten. His father had a fair estate, which he intended to settle on his elder brother; but he being a vicious young man, and there appearing no hopes of his recovery, he settled it on him who was his second son. Upon his death, his eldest son, finding that what he had before looked on as the threatenings of an angry father was now but too certain, became melancholy; and that by degrees wrought so great a change on him, that what his father could not prevail in while he lived was now effected by the severity of his last will; so that it was now too late for him to change in hopes of any estate that was gone from him. But his brother, observing the reality of the change, resolved within himself what to do: so he called him with many of his friends together to a feast; and, after other dishes had been served up to the dinner, he ordered one that was covered to be set before his brother, and desired him to uncover it, which he doing, the company were surprised to find it full of writings. So he told them, that he was now to do what he was sure his father would have done, if he had lived to see that

happy change which they now all saw in his brother; and, therefore, he freely restored to him the whole estate. This is so great an instance of a generous and just disposition, that I hope the reader will easily pardon this digression; and that the rather, since that worthy sergeant was so instrumental in the happy change that followed in the course of Mr. Hale's life.

Yet he did not at first break off from keeping too much company with some vain people, till a sad accident drove him from it; for he, with some other young students, being invited to be merry out of town, one of the company called for so much wine, that, notwithstanding all that Mr. Hale could do to prevent it, he went on in his excess till he fell down as dead before them; so that all that were present were not a little affrighted at it, who did what they could to bring him to himself again. This did particularly affect Mr. Hale, who thereupon went into another room, and, shutting the door, fell on his knees, and prayed earnestly to God, both for his friend that he might be restored to life again, and that himself might be forgiven for giving such countenance to so much excess; and he vowed to God, that he would never again keep company in that manner, nor drink a health while he lived. His friend recovered, and he most religiously observed his vow till his dying day. And though he was afterward pressed to drink healths, particularly the king's, which was set up by too many as a distinguishing mark of

loyalty, and drew many into great excess, after his majesty's happy restoration; but he would never dispense with his vow, though he was sometimes roughly treated for this, which some hot and indiscreet men called obstinacy.

This wrought an entire change on him: now he forsook all vain company, and divided himself between the duties of religion and the studies of his profession. In the former he was so regular, that for six and thirty year's time he never once failed going to church on the Lord's day. This observation he made when an ague first interrupted that constant course; and he reflected on it, as an acknowledgment of God's great goodness to him, in so long a continuance of his health.

He took a strict account of his time, of which the reader will best judge by the scheme he drew for a diary, which I shall insert, copied from the original; but I am not certain when he made it; it is set down in the same simplicity in which he wrote it for his own private use.

MORNING.

1. To lift up the heart to God in thankfulness for renewing my life.

2. To renew my covenant with God in Christ, (1.) By renewed acts of faith receiving Christ, and rejoicing in the height of that relation. (2.) Resolution of being one of his people, doing him allegiance.

3. Adoration and prayer.

4. Setting a watch over my own infirmities

and passions, over the snares laid in our way. *Perimus licitis.*

Day Employment.

There must be an employment, two kinds:—

1. Our ordinary calling, to serve God in it. It is a service to Christ, though never so mean. (Colossians iii.) Here faithfulness, diligence, cheerfulness. Not to over-lay myself with more business than I can bear.

2. Our spiritual employments; mingle somewhat of God's immediate service in this day.

Refreshments.

1. Meat and drink, moderation seasoned with somewhat of God.

2. Recreations. (1.) Not our business. (2.) Suitable. No games, if given to covetousness or passion.

If alone.

1. Beware of wandering, vain, lustful thoughts; fly from thyself rather than entertain these.

2. Let thy solitary thoughts be profitable; view the evidences of thy salvation, the state of thy soul, the coming of Christ, thy own mortality; it will make thee humble and watchful.

Company.

Do good to them. Use God's name reverently. Beware of leaving an ill impression of ill

example. Receive good from them if more knowing.

EVENING.

Cast up the accounts of the day. If aught amiss, beg pardon. Gather resolution of more vigilance. If well, bless the mercy and grace of God that hath supported thee.

These notes have an imperfection in the wording of them, which shows they were only intended for his privacies. No wonder a man who set such rules to himself became quickly very eminent and remarkable.

Noy, the attorney-general, being then one of the greatest men of the profession, took early notice of him, and called often for him, and directed him in his study, and grew to have such friendship for him that he came to be called young Noy. He passing from the extreme of vanity in his apparel, to that of neglecting himself too much, was once taken, when there was a press for the king's service, as a fit person for it; for he was a strong and well-built man; but some that knew him coming by, and giving notice who he was, the press-men let him go. This made him return to more decency in his clothes, but never to any superfluity or vanity in them.

Once as he was buying some cloth for a new suit, the draper, with whom he differed about the price, told him he should have it for nothing, if he would promise him one hundred pounds

when he came to be lord chief justice of England; to which he answered, that he could not with a good conscience wear any man's cloth, unless he paid for it; so he satisfied the draper, and carried away the cloth. Yet the same draper lived to see him advanced to that same dignity.

While he was thus improving himself in the study of the law, he not only kept the hours of the hall constantly in term time, but seldom put himself out of commons in vacation time; and continued then to follow his studies with an unwearied diligence; and not being satisfied with the books writ about it, or to take things upon trust, was very diligent in searching all records. Then did he make divers collections out of the books he had read, and, mixing them with his own observations, digested them into a common-place book; which he did with so much industry and judgment, that an eminent judge of the King's Bench borrowed it of him, when he was lord chief baron. He unwillingly lent it, because it had been writ by him before he was called to the bar, and had never been thoroughly revised by him since that time; only what alterations had been made in the law by subsequent statutes and judgments, were added by him as they had happened. But the judge having perused it, said, that though it was composed by him so early, he did not think any lawyer in England could do it better, except he himself would again set about it.

He was soon found out by that great and

learned antiquary, Mr. Selden, who, though much superior to him in years, yet came to have such a liking of him and of Mr. Vaughan, who was afterward lord chief justice of the common pleas, that as he continued in a close friendship with them while he lived, so he left them at his death two of his four executors.

It was this acquaintance that first set Mr. Hale on a more enlarged pursuit of learning, which he had before confined to his own profession; but becoming as great a master in it as ever any was very soon, he, who could never let any of his time go away unprofitably, found leisure to attain to as great a variety of knowledge, in as comprehensive a manner as most men have done in any age.

He set himself much to the study of the Roman law; and though he liked the way of judicature in England, by juries, much better than that of the civil law, where so much was trusted to the judge; yet he often said that the true grounds and reasons of law were so well delivered in the digests, that a man could never understand law as a science so well as by seeking it there; and therefore lamented much that it was so little studied in England.

He looked on readiness in arithmetic as a thing which might be useful to him in his own employment; and acquired it to such a degree that he would often on a sudden, and afterward on the bench, resolve very hard questions, which had puzzled the best accountants about town. He rested not here; but studied the

algebra, both *speciosa* and *numerosa*, and went through all the other mathematical sciences; and made a great collection of very excellent instruments, sparing no cost to have them as exact as art could make them. He was also very conversant in philosophical learning, and in all the curious experiments and rare discoveries of this age: and had the new books written on those subjects sent him from all parts, which he both read and examined so critically, that if the principles and hypotheses which he took first up did any way prepossess him, yet those who have differed most from him acknowledged, that in what he has written concerning the Torricellian experiment, and of the rarefaction and condensation of the air, he shows as great an exactness, and as much subtlety in the reasoning he builds on them, as these principles, to which he adhered, could bear. But indeed it will seem scarcely credible, that a man so much employed, and of so severe a temper of mind, could find leisure to read, observe, and write so much of these subjects as he did. He called them his diversions; for he often said, when he was weary with the study of the law or divinity, he used to recreate himself with philosophy or the mathematics: to these he added great skill in physic, anatomy, and chirurgery; and he used to say, no man could be absolutely a master in any profession, without having some skill in other sciences; for besides the satisfaction he had in the knowledge of these things, he made use of them often in

his employments. In some examinations he would put such questions to physicians or chirurgeons, that they have professed the college of physicians could not do it more exactly; by which he discovered great judgment, as well as much knowledge in these things. And in his sickness he used to argue with the doctors about his distempers, and the methods they took with them, like one of their own profession; which one of them told me he understood as far as speculation without practice could carry him.

To this he added great searches into ancient history; and particularly into the roughest and least delightful part of it, chronology. He was well acquainted with the ancient Greek philosophers; but want of occasion to use it wore out his knowledge of the Greek tongue: and though he never studied the Hebrew tongue, yet, by his great conversation with Selden, he understood the most curious things in the rabbinical learning.

But above all these, he seemed to have made the study of divinity the chief of all others; to which he not only directed every thing else, but also arrived at that pitch in it, that those who have read what he has written on these subjects will think they must have had most of his time and thoughts. It may seem extravagant, and almost incredible, that one man, in no great compass of years, should have acquired such a variety of knowledge, and that in sciences that require much leisure and application. But as his parts were quick, and his apprehension

lively; his memory great, and his judgment strong; so his industry was almost indefatigable. He rose always betimes in the morning; was never idle; scarcely ever held any discourse about news, except with some few, in whom he confided entirely. He entered into no correspondence by letters, except about necessary business, or matters of learning; and spent very little time in eating or drinking; for as he never went to public feasts, so he gave no entertainments but to the poor; for he followed our Saviour's direction (of feasting none but these) literally: and in eating and drinking he observed not only great plainness and moderation, but lived so philosophically, that he always ended his meal with an appetite; so that he lost little time at it, (that being the only portion which he grudged himself,) and was disposed to any exercise of his mind, to which he thought fit to apply himself, immediately after he had dined. By these means he gained much time, that is otherwise unprofitably wasted.

He had also an admirable equality in the temper of his mind, which disposed him for whatever studies he thought fit to turn himself to; and some very uneasy things which he lay under for many years did rather engage him to, than distract him from, his studies.

CHAPTER II.

When he was called to the bar and began to make a figure in the world, the late unhappy wars broke out; in which it was no easy thing for a man to preserve his integrity, and to live securely, free from great danger and trouble. He had read the life of Pomponius Atticus, written by Nepos; and having observed that he had passed through a time of as much distraction as ever was in any age or state, from the wars of Marius and Sylla, to the beginning of Augustus's reign, without the least blemish on his reputation, and free from any considerable danger, being held in great esteem by all parties, and courted and favoured by them; he set him as a pattern to himself: and observing, that besides those virtues which are necessary to all men, and at all times, there were two things that chiefly preserved Atticus; the one was his engaging in no faction, and meddling in no public business; the other was his constant favouring and relieving those that were lowest; which was ascribed, by such as prevailed, to the generosity of his temper, and procured him much kindness from those on whom he had exercised his bounty, when it came to their turn to govern; he resolved to guide himself by those rules as much as it was possible for him to do.

He not only avoided all public employment, but the very talking of news; and was always

both favourable and charitable to those who were depressed, and was sure never to provoke any in particular, by censuring or reflecting on their actions: for many that have conversed much with him, have told me they never heard him once speak ill of any person.

He was employed in his practice by all the king's party: he was assigned counsel to the Earl of Strafford, and Archbishop Laud, and afterward to the blessed king himself, when brought to the infamous pageantry of a mock trial; and offered to plead for him with all the courage that so glorious a cause ought to have inspired him with; but was not suffered to appear, because the king refusing, as he had good reason, to submit to the court, it was pretended none could be admitted to speak for him. He was also counsel for the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capel. His plea for the former of these I have published in the memoirs of that duke's life. Afterward also being counsel for the Lord Craven, he pleaded with that force of argument, that the then attorney-general threatened him for appearing against government: to whom he answered, he was pleading in defence of those laws which they declared they would maintain and preserve; and he was doing his duty to his client; so that he was not to be daunted with threatenings.

Upon all these occasions he had discharged himself with so much learning, fidelity, and courage, that he came to be generally employed for all that party: nor was he satisfied to ap-

pear for their just defence in the way of his profession, but he also relieved them often in their necessities; which he did in a way that was no less prudent than charitable, considering the dangers of that time: for he did often deposit considerable sums in the hands of a worthy gentleman of the king's party, who knew their necessities well, and was to distribute his charity according to his own discretion, without either letting them know from whence it came, or giving himself any account to whom he had given it.

Cromwell seeing him possessed of so much practice, and he being one of the most eminent men of the law, who was not at all afraid of doing his duty in those critical times, resolved to take him off from it, and raise him to the bench.

Mr. Hale saw well enough the snare laid for him: and though he did not much consider the prejudice it would be to himself to exchange the easy and safer profits he had by his practice, for a judge's place in the common pleas, which he was required to accept of; yet he did deliberate more on the lawfulness of taking a commission from usurpers: but having considered well of this, he came to be of opinion, that it being absolutely necessary to have justice and property kept up at all times, it was no sin to take a commission from usurpers, if he made no declaration of his acknowledging their authority; which he never did. He was much urged to accept of it by some eminent men of

his own profession, who were of the king's party; as Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and Sir Geoffery Palmer; and was also satisfied concerning the lawfulness of it, by the resolution of some famous divines, in particular Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Henchman, who were afterward promoted to the sees of Canterbury and London.

To these were added the importunities of all his friends; who thought that in a time of so much danger and oppression, it might be no small security to the nation to have a man of his integrity and abilities on the bench: and the usurpers themselves held him in that estimation, that they were glad to have him give a countenance to their courts; and by promoting one that was known to have different principles from them, affected the reputation of honouring and trusting men of eminent virtues, of what persuasion soever they might be in relation to public matters.

But he had greater scruples concerning the proceeding against felons, and putting offenders to death by that commission; since he thought, the sword of justice belonging only by right to the lawful prince, it seemed not warrantable to proceed to a capital sentence by an authority derived from usurpers. Yet at first he made distinction between common and ordinary felonies, and offences against the state: for the last, he would never meddle in them; for he thought these might be often legal and warrantable actions, and that the putting men to death on that

account was murder. But for the ordinary felonies, he at first was of opinion that it was as necessary, even in times of usurpation, to execute justice in those cases, as in matters of property. But after the king was murdered, he laid by all his collections of the pleas of the crown; and that they might not fall into ill hands, he hid them behind the wainscoting of his study; for he said, there was no more occasion to use them, till the king should be again restored to his right; and so, upon his majesty's restoration, he took them out, and went on in his design to perfect that great work.

Yet, for some time after he was made a judge, when he went the circuit, he did sit on the crown side, and judged criminals: but, having considered farther of it, he came to think, that it was at least better not to do it; and so, after the second or third circuit, he refused to sit any more on the crown side, and told plainly the reason; for in matters of blood he was always to choose the safer side: and indeed he had so carried himself in some trials, that they were not unwilling he should withdraw from meddling farther in them; of which I shall give some instances.

Not long after he was made a judge, which was in the year 1653, when he went the circuit, a trial was brought before him at Lincoln, concerning the murder of one of the townsmen, who had been of the king's party, and was killed by a soldier of the garrison there. He was in the fields with a fowling-piece on his shoulder;

which the soldier seeing, he came to him, and said, it was contrary to an order which the protector had made, that none who had been of the king's party should carry arms: and so he would have forced it from him: but as the other did not regard the order, so being stronger than the soldier he threw him down, and having beat him, he left him. The soldier went into the town, and told one of his fellow-soldiers how he had been used, and got him to go with him, and lie in wait for the man that he might be avenged on him. They both watched his coming to town, and one of them went to him to demand his gun; which he refusing, the soldier struck at him; and as they were struggling, the other came behind, and ran his sword into his body, of which he presently died. It was in the time of the assizes, so they were both tried. Against the one there was no evidence of forethought felony, so he was only found guilty of manslaughter, and burned on the hand; but the other was found guilty of murder. And though Colonel Whaley, that commanded the garrison, came into the court, and urged that the man was killed only for disobeying the protector's order, and that the soldier was but doing his duty, yet the judge regarded both his reason and threatenings very little; and therefore he not only gave sentence against him, but ordered the execution to be so suddenly done that it might not be possible to procure a reprieve; which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it.

Another occasion was given him of showing both his justice and courage, when he was in another circuit. He understood that the protector had ordered a jury to be returned for trial, in which he was more than ordinarily concerned. Upon this information, he examined the sheriff about it, who knew nothing of it; for he said he referred all such things to the under-sheriff: and having next asked the under-sheriff concerning it, he found the jury had been returned by order from Cromwell: upon which he showed the statute, that all juries ought to be returned by the sheriff, or his lawful officer; and this not being done according to law, he dismissed the jury, and would not try the cause; upon which the protector was highly displeased with him, and at his return from his circuit, he told him in anger, he was not fit to be a judge: to which all the answer he made was, that it was very true.

Another thing met him in the circuit, upon which he resolved to proceed severely. Some Anabaptists had rushed into a church, and had disturbed a congregation while they were receiving the Lord's supper, not without some violence. At this he was highly offended; for he said, It was intolerable for men, who pretended so highly to liberty of conscience, to go and disturb others; especially those who had the encouragement of the law on their side. But these were so supported by some great magistrates and officers, that a stop was put to his proceedings; upon which he declared, he would

meddle no more with the trials on the crown side.

When Penruddock's trial was brought on, there was a special messenger sent to him, requiring him to assist at it. It was in vacation time, and he was at his country house at Alderley. He plainly refused to go, and said, the four terms and two circuits were enough, and the little interval that was between was little enough for their private affairs; and so he excused himself. He thought it was not necessary to speak more clearly; but if he had been urged to it, he would not have been afraid of doing it.

He was at that time chosen a parliament man, (for there being then no house of lords, judges might have been chosen to sit in the house of commons,) and he went to it, on design to obstruct the mad and wicked projects then on foot by two parties, that had very different principles and ends.

On the one hand, some that were perhaps more sincere, yet were really brainsick, designed they knew not what, being resolved to pull down a standing ministry, the law and property of England, and all the ancient rules of this government, and set up on its room an indigested enthusiastical scheme, which they called "the kingdom of Christ," or of his saints; many of them being really in expectation, that one day or another Christ would come down and sit among them; and at least they thought to begin the glorious thousand years mentioned in the Revelation.

Others at the same time taking advantages from the fears and apprehensions that all the sober men of the nation were in, lest they should fall under the tyranny of a distracted sort of people, who, to all their other ill principles added great cruelty, which they had copied from those at Munster in the former age, intended to improve that opportunity to raise their own fortunes and families. Amidst these Judge Hale steered a middle course; for as he would engage for neither side, so he, with a great many more worthy men, came to parliaments more out of a design to hinder mischief, than to do much good; wisely foreseeing, that the inclinations for the royal family were daily growing so much, that in time the disorders then in agitation would ferment to that happy resolution in which they determined in May, 1660. And therefore all that could be then done was to oppose the ill designs of both parties, the enthusiasts as well as usurpers. Among the other extravagant motions made in this parliament, one was to destroy all the records in the Tower, and to settle the nation on a new foundation: so he took this province to himself, to show the madness of this proposition, the injustice of it, and the mischiefs that would follow on it; and did it with such clearness and strength of reason, as not only satisfied all sober persons, (for it may be supposed that was soon done,) but stopped even the mouth of the frantic people themselves.

Thus he continued administering justice till

the protector died; but then he both refused the mournings that were sent to him and his servants for the funeral, and likewise to accept of the new commission that was offered him by Richard; and when the rest of the judges urged it upon him, and employed others to press him to accept of it, he rejected all their importunities, and said he could act no longer under such authority.

He lived a private man till the parliament met that called home the king, to which he was returned knight of the shire from the county of Gloucester. It appeared at that time how much he was beloved and esteemed in his neighbourhood; for though another who stood in competition with him had spent near a thousand pounds to procure voices, a great sum to be employed that way in those days, and he had been at no cost; and was so far from soliciting it, that he had stood out long against those who pressed him to appear; and he did not promise to appear till three days before the election, yet he was preferred. He was brought thither almost by violence, by the lord (now earl of) Berkely, who bore all the charge of the entertainments on the day of his election, which was considerable, and had engaged all his friends and interest for him. And whereas by the writ, the knight of a shire must be *miles gladio cinctus*, and he had no sword, that noble lord girt him with his own sword during the election: but he was soon weary of it; for the embroidery of the belt did not suit well with

the plainness of his clothes: and indeed the election did not hold long; for as soon as ever he came into the field, he was chosen by much the greater number, though the poll continued for three or four days.

In that parliament he bore his share in the happy period then put to the confusions that threatened the utter ruin of the nation; which, contrary to the expectations of the most sanguine, settled in so serene and quiet a manner, that those who had formerly built so much on their success, calling it an answer from heaven to their solemn appeals to the providence of God, were now not a little confounded to see all this turned against themselves, in an instance much more extraordinary than any of those were, upon which they had built so much. His great prudence and excellent temper led him to think, that the sooner an act of indemnity were passed, and the fuller it were of graces and favours, it would sooner settle the nation, and quiet the minds of the people; and therefore he applied himself with a particular care to the framing and carrying it on; in which it was visible he had no concern of his own, but merely his love of the public that set him on it.

Soon after this, when the courts in Westminster Hall came to be settled, he was made lord chief baron; and when the earl of Clarendon (then lord chancellor) delivered him his commission, in the speech he made, according to the custom on such occasions, he expressed his esteem of him in a very singular manner; tell-

ing him, among other things, that if the king could have found out an honester and fitter man for that employment, he would not have advanced him to it; and that he had therefore preferred him, because he knew none that deserved it so well. It is ordinary for persons so promoted to be knighted; but he desired to avoid having that honour done him, and therefore for a considerable time declined all opportunities of waiting on the king; which the lord chancellor observing, sent for him upon business one day, when the king was at his house, and told his majesty, there was his modest chief baron, upon which he was unexpectedly knighted.

He continued eleven years in that place, managing the court and all proceedings in it, with singular justice. It was observed by the whole nation how much he raised the reputation and practice of it; and those who held places and offices in it can all declare, not only the impartiality of his justice, for that is but a common virtue, but his generosity, his vast diligence, and his great exactness in trials. This gave occasion to the only complaint that ever was made of him, that he did not despatch matters quick enough. But the great care he used to put suits to a final end, as it made him slower in deciding them, so it had this good effect,—that causes tried before him were seldom, if ever, tried again.

Nor did his administration of justice lie only in that court: he was one of the principal judges

that sat in Clifford's Inn, about settling the difference between landlord and tenant, after the dreadful fire of London ; he being the first that offered his service to the city, for accommodating all the differences that might have arisen about the rebuilding of it; in which he behaved himself to the satisfaction of all persons concerned : so that the sudden and quiet building of the city, which is justly to be reckoned one of the wonders of the age, is in no small measure due to the great care which he and Sir Orlando Bridgeman (then lord chief justice of the common pleas, afterward lord keeper of the great seal of England) used, and to the judgment they showed in that affair ; since, without the rules then laid down, there might have otherwise followed such an endless train of vexatious suits, as might have been little less chargeable than the fire itself had been. But without detracting from the labours of the other judges, it must be acknowledged, that he was the most instrumental in that great work ; for he first, by way of scheme, contrived the rules upon which he and the rest proceeded afterward ; in which his readiness at arithmetic, and his skill in architecture, were of great use to him.

But it will not seem strange that a judge behaved himself as he did, who at the entry into his employment set such excellent rules to himself, which will appear in the following paper, copied from the original under his own hand :—

Things necessary to be continually had in remembrance.

1. That in the administration of justice, I am intrusted for God, the king, and country; and therefore,

2. That it be done, (1.) Uprightly, (2.) Deliberately, (3.) Resolutely.

3. That I rest not upon my own understanding or strength; but implore and rest upon the direction and strength of God.

4. That in the execution of justice I carefully lay aside my own passions, and not give way to them, however provoked.

5. That I be wholly intent upon the business I am about, remitting all other cares and thoughts as unseasonable, and interruptions.

6. That I suffer not myself to be prepossessed with any judgment at all, till the whole business and both parties be heard.

7. That I never engage myself in the beginning of any cause, but reserve myself unprejudiced till the whole be heard.

8. That in business capital, though my nature prompt me to pity, yet to consider, that there is also a pity due to the country.

9. That I be not too rigid in matters purely conscientious, where all the harm is diversity of judgment.

10. That I be not biassed with compassion to the poor, or favour to the rich, in point of justice.

11. That popular or court applause or dis-

taste have no influence into any thing I do in point of distribution of justice.

12. Not to be solicitous what men will say or think, so long as I keep myself exactly according to the rules of justice.

13. If in criminals it be a measuring cast, to incline to mercy and acquittal.

14. In criminals that consist merely in words, when no harm ensues, moderation is no injustice.

15. In criminals of blood, if the fact be evident, severity of justice.

16. To abhor all private solicitations, of what kind soever, and by whomsoever, in matters depending.

17. To charge my servants, (1.) Not to interpose in any business whatsoever. (2.) Not to take more than their known fees. (3.) Not to give any undue precedence to causes. (4.) Not to recommend counsel.

18. To be short and sparing at meals, that I may be the fitter for business.

CHAPTER III.

He would never receive private addresses or recommendations from the greatest persons in any matter, in which justice was concerned. One of the first peers of England went once to his chamber, and told him, that having a suit in law to be tried before him, he was then to ac-

quaint him with it, that he might the better understand it, when it should come to be heard in court. Upon which the lord chief baron interrupted him, and said, he did not deal fairly to come to his chamber about such affairs; for he never received any information of causes but in open court, where both parties were to be heard alike; so he would not suffer him to go on. Whereupon his grace (for he was a duke) went away not a little dissatisfied, and complained of it to the king, as a rudeness that was not to be endured. But his majesty bade him content himself that he was no worse used; and said, he verily believed he would have used himself no better, if he had gone to solicit him in any of his own causes.

Another passage fell out in one of his circuits, which was somewhat censured as an affectation of an unreasonable strictness; but it flowed from his exactness to the rules he had set himself. A gentleman had sent him a buck for his table, that had a trial at the assizes; so when he heard his name, he asked if he was not the same person that had sent him venison; and finding he was the same, he told him he could not suffer the trial to go on till he had paid him for his buck. To which the gentleman answered, that he never sold his venison; and that he had done nothing to him which he did not do to every judge that had gone that circuit; which was confirmed by several gentlemen then present: but all would not do; for the lord chief baron had learned from Solomon, that

"a gift perverteth the ways of judgment;" and therefore he would not suffer the trial to go on, till he had paid for the present, upon which the gentleman withdrew the record. And at Salisbury, the dean and chapter, having, according to custom, presented him with six sugar-loaves in his circuit, he made his servants pay for the sugar before he would try their cause.

It was not so easy for him to throw off the importunities of the poor, for whom his compassion wrought more powerfully than his regard to wealth and greatness; yet, when justice was concerned, even that did not turn him out of the way. There was one that had been put out of a place for some ill behaviour, who urged the lord chief baron to set his hand to a certificate to restore him to it, or provide him with another; but he told him plainly his fault was such that he could not do it. The other pressed him vehemently, and fell down on his knees, and begged it of him with many tears; but finding that could not prevail, he said he should be utterly ruined if he did not, and he should curse him for it every day. But that having no effect, then he fell out into all the reproachful words that passion and despair could inspire him with; to which all the answer the lord chief baron made was, that he could very well bear all his reproaches, but he could not for all that set his hand to his certificate. He saw he was poor, so he gave him a large charity and sent him away.

But now he was to go on after his pattern,

Pomponius Atticus, still to favour and relieve them that were lowest; so besides great charities to the nonconformists, who were then, as he thought, too hardly used, he took great care to cover them all he could from the severities some designed against them, and discouraged those who were inclined to stretch the laws too much against them. He lamented the differences that were raised in the church very much; and, according to the impartiality of his justice, he blamed some things on both sides, which I shall set down with the same freedom that he spake them. He thought many of the nonconformists had merited highly in the business of the king's restoration, and at least deserved that the terms of conformity should not have been made stricter than they were before the war. There was not then that dreadful prospect of popery that has appeared since. But that which afflicted him most was, that he saw the heats and contentions which followed upon those different parties and interests, did take people off from the indispenable things of religion, and slackened the zeal of otherwise good men for the substance of it; so much being spent about external and indifferent things. It also gave advantages to atheists to treat the most sacred points of our holy faith as ridiculous, when they saw the professors of it contend so fiercely, and with such bitterness, about lesser matters. He was much offended at all those books that were written to expose the contrary sect to the scorn and contempt of the age, in a wanton and petu-

lant style. He thought such writers wounded the Christian religion through the sides of those who differed from them; while a sort of lewd people, who, having assumed to themselves the title of the "Wits," (though but a very few of them have a right to it,) took up from both hands what they had said, to make one another appear ridiculous; and from thence persuaded the world to laugh at both, and at all religion for their sakes; and, therefore, he often wished there might be some law to make all scurrility or bitterness in disputes about religion punishable. But as he lamented the proceeding too rigorously against the nonconformists, so he declared himself always on the side of the Church of England; and said, those of the separation were good men, but they had narrow souls, who would break the peace of the church about such inconsiderable matters as the points in difference were.

He scarcely ever meddled in state intrigues; yet, upon a proposition that was set on foot by the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, for a comprehension of the more moderate dissenters, and a limited indulgence toward such as could not be brought within the comprehension, he dispensed with his maxim of avoiding to engage in matters of state. There were several meetings upon that occasion. The divine of the Church of England that appeared most considerably for it, was Dr. Wilkins, afterward promoted to the bishopric of Chester; a man of as great a mind, as true a judgment, as eminent virtues,

and of as good a soul, as any I ever knew. He being determined as well by his excellent temper, as by his foresight and prudence, by which he early perceived the great prejudices that religion received, and the vast dangers the reformation was likely to fall under by those divisions, set about that project with the magnanimity that was indeed peculiar to himself; for though he was much censured by many of his own side, and seconded by very few, yet he pushed it as far as he could. After several conferences with two of the most eminent of the Presbyterian divines, heads were agreed on, some abatements were to be made, and explanations were to be accepted of. The particulars of that project being thus concerted, they were brought to the lord chief baron, who put them in form of a bill, to be presented to the next session of parliament.

But two parties appeared vigorously against this design: the one was of some zealous clergymen, who thought it below the dignity of the church to alter laws, and change settlements, for the sake of some whom they esteemed schismatics. They also believed it was better to keep them out of the church than bring them into it, since a faction upon that would arise in the church, which they thought might be more dangerous than the schism itself was. Besides, they said, if some things were now to be changed in compliance with the humour of a party, as soon as that was done, another party might demand other concessions; and there

might be as good reasons invented for these as for those; many such concessions might also shake those of our own communion, and tempt them to forsake us, and go over to the Church of Rome; pretending that we changed so often, that they were thereby inclined to be of a church that was constant and true to herself. These were the reasons brought, and chiefly insisted on, against all comprehension; and they wrought upon the greater part of the house of commons, so that they passed a vote against the receiving of any bill for that effect.

There were others that opposed it upon very different ends: they designed to shelter the papists from the execution of the law, and saw clearly that nothing could bring in popery so well as a toleration. But to tolerate popery barefaced would have startled the nation too much; so it was necessary to hinder all the propositions for union, since the keeping up the differences was the best colour they could find for getting the toleration to pass only as a slackening the laws against dissenters, whose numbers and wealth made it advisable to have some regard to them; and under this pretence popery might have crept in more covered and less regarded. So these counsels being more acceptable to some concealed papists then in great power, as has since appeared but too evidently, the whole project for comprehension was let fall; and those who had set it on foot came to be looked on with an ill eye, as secret favour-

ers of the dissenters, underminers of the church, and every thing else that jealousy and distaste could cast on them.

But upon this occasion the lord chief baron and Dr. Wilkins came to contract a firm and familiar friendship; and the lord chief baron having much business, and little time to spare, did, to enjoy the other the more, what he had scarcely ever done before; he went sometimes to dine with him. And though he lived in great friendship with some other eminent clergymen, as Dr. Ward, bishop of Salisbury; Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Barrow, late master of Trinity College; Dr. Tillotson, dean of Canterbury, and Dr. Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's; (men so well known, and so much esteemed, that as it was no wonder the lord chief baron valued their conversation highly, so those of them that are yet alive will think it no lessening of the character they are so deservedly in, that they are reckoned among Judge Hale's friends;) yet there was an intimacy and freedom in his converse with Bishop Wilkins, that was singular to him alone. He had, during the late wars, lived in a long and entire friendship with the apostolical primate of Ireland, Bishop Usher: their curious searches into antiquity, and the sympathy of both their tempers, led them to a great agreement almost in every thing. He held also great conversation with Mr. Baxter, who was his neighbour at Acton, on whom he looked as a person of great devotion and piety, and of a very subtile and quick apprehension:

their conversation lay most in metaphysical and abstracted ideas and schemes.

He looked with great sorrow on the impiety and atheism of the age; and so he set himself to oppose it, not only by the shining example of his own life, but by engaging in a cause that indeed could hardly fall into better hands: and as he could not find a subject more worthy of himself, so there were few in the age that understood it so well, and could manage it more skilfully. The occasion that first led him to write about it was this: he was a strict observer of the Lord's day; in which, besides his constancy in the public worship of God, he used to call all his family together, and repeat to them the heads of the sermons, with some additions of his own, which he fitted for their capacities and circumstances; and that being done, he had a custom of shutting himself up for two or three hours; which he either spent in his secret devotions, or on such profitable meditations as did then occur to his thoughts. He wrote them with the same simplicity that he formed them in his mind, without any art, or so much as a thought to let them be published. He never corrected them; but laid them by, when he had finished them, having intended only to fix and preserve his own reflections in them; so that he used no sort of care to polish them, or make the first draught perfecter than when they fell from his pen. These fell into the hands of a worthy person, and he judging, as well he might, that the communicating them

to the world might be a public service, printed two volumes of them in octavo, a little before the author's death ; containing his

CONTEMPLATIONS.

1. Of our latter end.
2. Of wisdom, and the fear of God.
3. Of the knowledge of Christ crucified.
4. The victory of faith over the world.
5. Of humility.
6. Jacob's vow.
7. Of contentation.
8. Of afflictions.
9. A good method to entertain unstable and troublesome times.
10. Changes and troubles : a poem.
11. Of the redemption of time.
12. The great audit.
13. Directions touching keeping the Lord's day : in a letter to his children.
14. Poems written upon Christmas day.

In the second Volume.

1. An inquiry touching happiness.
2. The chief end of man.
3. Upon Eccles. xii, 1, Remember thy Creator.
4. Upon Psalm li, 10, Create a clean heart in me. With a poem.
5. The folly and mischief of sin.
6. Of self-denial.
7. Motives to watchfulness, in reference to the good and evil angels.

8. Of moderation of the affections.
9. Of worldly hope and expectation.
10. Upon Heb. xiii, 14, We have here no continuing city.
11. Of contentedness and patience.
12. Of moderation of anger.
13. A preparative against afflictions.
14. Of submission, prayer, and thanksgiving.
15. Of prayer and thanksgiving, on Psalm cxvi, 12.
16. Meditations on the Lord's prayer, with a paraphrase upon it.

In them there appears a generous and true spirit of religion, mixed with most serious and fervent devotion; and perhaps with the more advantage, that the style wants some correction, which shows they were the genuine productions of an excellent mind, entertaining itself in secret with such contemplations. The style is clear and masculine, in a due temper between flatness and affectation; in which he expresses his thoughts both easily and decently. In writing these discourses, having run over most of the subjects that his own circumstances led him chiefly to consider, he began to be in some pain to choose new arguments; and therefore resolved to fix on a theme that should hold him longer.

He was soon determined in his choice, by the immoral and irreligious principles and practices that had so long vexed his righteous soul; and therefore began a great design against

atheism ; the first part of which only is printed, of the "Origination of Mankind," designed to prove the creation of the world, and the truth of the Mosaical history.

The second part was of the nature of the soul, and of a future state.

The third part was concerning the attributes of God, both from the abstracted ideas of him, and the light of nature, the evidence of Providence, the notions of morality, and the voice of conscience.

And the fourth part was concerning the truth and authority of the Scriptures, with answers to the objections against them. On writing these he spent seven years. He wrote them with so much consideration, that one, who perused the original under his own hand, which was the first draught of it, told me, he did not remember of any considerable alteration, perhaps not of twenty words in the whole work.

The way of his writing them, only on the evenings of the Lord's day, when he was in town, and not much oftener when he was in the country, made, that they are not so contracted, as it is very likely he would have writ them, if he had been more at leisure to have brought his thoughts into a narrower compass, and fewer words.

But making some allowance for the largeness of the style, that volume that is printed is generally acknowledged to be one of the most perfect pieces, both of learning and reasoning, that has been written on that subject. And he who

read a greater part of the other volumes told me, they were all of a piece with the first.

When he had finished this work, he sent it by an unknown hand to bishop Wilkins, to desire his judgment of it: but he that brought it would give no other account of the author, but that he was not a clergyman. The Bishop and his worthy friend Dr. Tillotson read a great deal of it with much pleasure; but could not imagine who could be the author, and how a man that was master of so much reason, and so great a variety of knowledge, should be so unknown to them, that they could not find him out by those characters which are so little common. At last Dr. Tillotson guessed it must be the lord chief baron; to which the other presently agreed, wondering he had been so long in finding it out. So they went immediately to him, and the bishop thanking him for the entertainment he had received from his works, he blushed extremely, not without some displeasure, apprehending that the person he had trusted had discovered him. But the bishop soon cleared that, and told him he had discovered himself; for the learning of that book was so various, that none but he could be the author of it. And that bishop, having a freedom in delivering his opinion of things and persons, which perhaps few ever managed both with so much plainness and prudence, told him, there was nothing could be better said on these arguments, if he could bring it into a less compass: but if he had not leisure for that, he thought it much better to have it

come out, though a little too large, than that the world should be deprived of the good which it must needs do. But our judge had never the opportunities of revising it, so a little before his death he sent the first part of it to the press.

In the beginning of it, he gives an essay of his excellent way of methodizing things; in which he was so great a master, that whatever he undertook he would presently cast into so perfect a scheme, that he could never afterward correct it. He runs out copiously upon the argument of the impossibility of an eternal succession of time, to show that time and eternity are inconsistent one with another; and that therefore all duration that was past and defined by time, could not be from eternity; and he shows the difference between successive eternity already past, and one to come: so that though the latter is possible, the former is not so; for all the parts of the former have actually been, and therefore being defined by time, cannot be eternal; whereas the other are still future to all eternity; so that this reasoning cannot be turned to prove the possibility of eternal successions that have been, as well as eternal successions that shall be. This he follows with a strength I never met with in any that managed it before him.

He brings next all those moral arguments, to prove that the world had a beginning, agreeing to the account Moses gives of it; as that no history rises higher, than near the time of the

deluge; and that the first foundation of kingdoms, the invention of arts, the beginnings of all religions, the gradual plantation of the world, and increase of mankind, and the consent of nations, do agree with it. In managing these, as he shows profound skill both in historical and philosophical learning; so he gives a noble discovery of his great candour and probity, that he would not impose on the reader with a false show of reasoning by arguments that he knew had flaws in them; and therefore upon every one of these he adds such allays as in a great measure lessened and took off their force, with as much exactness of judgment and strictness of censure, as if he had been set to plead for the other side; and indeed sums up the whole evidence for religion as impartially as ever he did in a trial for life or death to the jury, which how equally and judiciously he always did, the whole nation well knows.

After that he examines the ancient opinions of the philosophers; and enlarges with a great variety of curious reflections, in answering that only argument that has any appearance of strength for the casual production of man, from the origination of insects out of putrefied matter, as is commonly supposed; and he concluded the book, showing how rational and philosophical the account which Moses gives of it is. There is in it all a sagacity and quickness of thought, mixed with great and curious learning, that I confess I never met together in any other book on that subject. Among other conjectures,

one he gives concerning the deluge is, that he did not think the face of the earth and the waters were altogether the same before the universal deluge, and after; "but possibly the face of the earth was more even than now it is; the seas possibly more dilated and extended, and not so deep as now." And a little after, "Possibly the seas have undermined much of the appearing continent of earth." This I the rather take notice of, because it hath been, since his death, made out in a most ingenious and most elegantly written book, by Mr. Burnet, of Christ's College, in Cambridge, who has given such an essay toward the proving the possibility of a universal deluge, and from thence has collected with great sagacity, what paradise was before it, as has not been offered by any philosopher before him.

While the judge was thus employing his time, the Lord Chief Justice Keyling dying, he was, on May 18th, 1671, promoted to be lord chief justice of England. He had made the pleas of the crown one of his chief studies; and by much search, and long observation, had composed that great work concerning them, formerly mentioned; he that holds the high office of justiciary in that court being the chief trustee and asserter of the liberties of his country. All people applauded this choice, and thought their liberties could not be better deposited than in the hands of one, that, as he understood them well, so he had all the justice and courage that so sacred a trust required. One thing was

much observed and commended in him; that when there was a great inequality in the ability and learning of the counsellors that were to plead one against another, he thought it became him, as the judge, to supply that: so he would enforce what the weaker counsel managed but indifferently, and not suffer the more learned to carry the business by the advantage they had over the others, in their quickness and skill in law, and readiness in pleading, till all things were cleared in which the merits and strength of the ill-defended cause lay. He was not satisfied barely to give his judgment in causes; but did, especially in all intricate ones, give such an account of the reasons that prevailed with him, that the counsel did not only acquiesce in his authority, but were so convinced by his reasons, that I have heard many profess, that he brought them often to change their opinions; so that his giving of judgment was really a learned lecture upon that point of law; and which was yet more, the parties themselves, though interest does too commonly corrupt the judgment, were generally satisfied with the justice of his decisions, even when they were made against them. His impartial justice and great diligence drew the chief practice after him, into whatsoever court he came. Since, though the courts of the common pleas, the exchequer, and the king's bench, are appointed for the trial of causes of different natures; yet it is easy to bring most causes into any of them, as the counsel or attorneys please: so, as he

had drawn the business much after him, both into the common pleas and the exchequer, it now followed him into the king's bench; and many causes, that were depending in the exchequer, and not determined, were let fall there, and brought again before him in the court to which he was now removed. And here did he spend the rest of his public life and employment. But about four years and a half after this advancement, he, who had hitherto enjoyed a firm and vigorous health, to which his great temperance, and the equality of his mind, did not a little conduce, was on a sudden brought very low by an inflammation in his midriff, which in two days' time broke the constitution of his health to such a degree that he never recovered it. He became so asthmatical, that with great difficulty he could fetch his breath, that determined in a dropsy, of which he afterward died. He understood physic so well, that, considering his age, he concluded his distemper must carry him off in a little time; and, therefore, he resolved to have some of the last months of his life reserved to himself, that, being freed from all worldly cares, he might be preparing for his change. He was also so much disabled in his body, that he could hardly, though supported by his servants, walk through Westminster Hall, or endure the toil of business. He had been a long time wearied with the distractions that his employment had brought on him, and his profession was become ungrateful to him. He loved to apply himself wholly to better purposes, as

will appear by a paper that he wrote on this subject, which I shall here insert.

"First, If I consider the business of my profession, whether as an advocate or as a judge; it is true, I do acknowledge, by the institution of almighty God, and the dispensation of his providence, I am bound to industry and fidelity in it: and as it is an act of obedience unto his will, it carries with it some things of religious duty, and I may and do take comfort in it, and expect a reward of my obedience to him, and the good that I do to mankind therein, from the bounty, and beneficence, and promise of almighty God. And it is true also, that without such employments civil societies cannot be supported, and great good redounds to mankind from them: and in these respects, the conscience of my own industry, fidelity, and integrity in them, is a great comfort and satisfaction to me. But yet this I must say concerning these employments, considered simply in themselves, that they are very full of cares, anxieties, and perturbations.

"Secondly, That though they are beneficial to others, yet they are of the least benefit to him that is employed in them.

"Thirdly, That they do necessarily involve the party, whose office it is, in great dangers, difficulties, and calumnies.

"Fourthly, That they only serve for the meridian of this life, which is short and uncertain.

"Fifthly, That though it be my duty faithfully to serve in them, while I am called to them, and till I am duly called from them, yet they are great consumers of that little time we have here; which, as it seems to me, might be better spent in a pious contemplative life, and a due provision for eternity. I do not know a better temporal employment than Martha had, in testifying her love and duty to our Saviour, by making provision for him: yet our Lord tells her, that though she was troubled about many things, there was only one thing necessary; and Mary had chosen the better part."

By this the reader will see, that he continued in his station upon no other consideration, but that being set in it by the providence of God, he judged he could not abandon that post which was assigned him, without preferring his own private inclination to the choice God had made for him. But now that same providence having by this great distemper disengaged him from the obligation of holding a place which he was no longer able to discharge, he resolved to resign it. This was no sooner surmised abroad, than it drew upon him the importunities of all his friends, and the clamour of the whole town, to divert him from it; but all was to no purpose. There was but one argument that could move him, which was, that he was obliged to continue in the employment God had put him in, for the good of the public. But to this he had such an answer that even those who were most

concerned in his withdrawing could not but see that the reasons inducing him to it were but too strong. So he made application to his majesty for his writ of ease, which the king was very unwilling to grant him, and offered to let him hold his place still, he doing what business he could in his chamber: but he said, he could not with a good conscience continue in it, since he was no longer able to discharge the duty belonging to it.

But yet such was the general satisfaction which all the kingdom received by his excellent administration of justice, that the king, though he could not well deny his request, yet he deferred the granting of it as long as was possible. Nor could the lord chancellor be prevailed with to move the king to hasten his discharge, though the chief justice often pressed him to it.

At last having wearied himself and all his friends with his importunate desires, and growing sensibly weaker in body, he did, upon the twenty-first day of February, 28 Car. II. *anno dom.* 1675–6, go before a master of the chancery, with a little parchment deed, drawn by himself, and written all with his own hand, and there sealed and delivered it, and acknowledged it to be enrolled; and afterward he brought the original deed to the lord chancellor, and did formally surrender his office.

He had the day before surrendered to the king in person, who parted from him with great grace, wishing him most heartily the return of

his health, and assuring him, that he would still look upon him as one of his judges, and have recourse to his advice when his health would permit; and in the meantime would continue his pension during his life.

The good man thought this bounty too great, and an ill precedent for the king; and therefore wrote a letter to the lord treasurer, earnestly desiring that his pension might be only during pleasure. But the king would grant it for life, and make it payable quarterly.

And yet, for a whole month together, he would not suffer his servant to sue out his patent for his pension; and when the first payment was received, he ordered a great part of it to charitable uses; and said, he intended most of it should be so employed, as long as it was paid him.

At last he happened to die upon the quarter day, which was Christmas day; and though this might have given some occasion to a dispute, whether the pension for that quarter were recoverable, yet the king was pleased to decide that matter against himself, and ordered the pension to be paid to his executors.

CHAPTER IV.

As soon as he was discharged from his great place, he returned home with as much cheerfulness as his want of health could admit of; being now eased of a burden he had been of late

groaning under, and so made more capable of enjoying that which he had much wished for, according to his elegant translation of, or rather paraphrase upon, those excellent lines in Seneca's Thyestes, act ii.

Stet quicunque volet potens
Aulæ culmine lubrico:
Me dulcis saturet quies.
Obscuro positus loco,
Leni perfruar otio.
Nullis nota Quiritibus
Ætas per tacitum fluat.
Sic cum transierint me
Nullo cum strepitu dies,
Plebeius moriar senex.
Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur sibi.

"Let him that will ascend the tottering seat
Of courtly grandeur, and become as great
As are his mounting wishes: as for me,
Let sweet repose and rest my portion be.
Give me some mean, obscure recess; a sphere
Out of the road of business, or the fear
Of falling lower: where I sweetly may
Myself and dear retirement still enjoy.
Let not my life or name be known unto
The grandees of the time, tost to and fro
By censures or applause; but let my age
Slide gently by; not overthwart the stage
Of public action, unheard, unseen,
And unconcern'd, as if I ne'er had been.
And thus, while I shall pass my silent day,
In shady privacy, free from the noise
And bustles of the mad world, then shall I
A good old innocent plebeian die.
Death is a mere surprise, a very snare
To him that makes it his life's greatest care

To be a public pageant known to all,
But unacquainted with himself doth fall."

Having now attained to that privacy which he had no less seriously than piously wished for, he called all his servants that had belonged to his office together, and told them he had now laid down his place, and so their employments were determined. Upon that, he advised them to see for themselves, and gave to some of them very considerable presents; and to every one of them a token; and so dismissed all those that were not his domestics. He was discharged February 15th, 1675–6, and lived till the Christmas following; but all the while was in so ill a state of health, that there was no hope of his recovery. He continued still to retire often, both for his devotions and studies; and, as long as he could go, went constantly to his closet: and when his infirmities increased on him, so that he was not able to go thither himself, he made his servants carry him thither in a chair. At last, as the winter came on, he saw, with great joy, his deliverance approaching: for, besides his being weary of the world, and his longings for the blessedness of another state, his pains increased so on him, that no patience inferior to his could have borne them without a great uneasiness of mind; yet he expressed to the last such submission to the will of God, and so equal a temper under them, that it was visible then what mighty effects his philosophy and Christianity had on him, in supporting him under such a heavy load.

He could not lie down in bed above a year before his death, by reason of the asthma; but sat rather than lay in it.

He was attended on in his sickness by a pious and worthy divine, Mr. Evan Griffith, minister of the parish; and it was observed, that in all the extremities of his pain, whenever he prayed by him, he forebore all complaints or groans; but with his hand and eyes lifted up, was fixed in his devotions. Not long before his death, the minister told him, there was to be a sacrament next Sunday at church; but he believed he could not come and partake with the rest; therefore he would give it to him in his own house. But he answered, no; his heavenly Father had prepared a feast for him, and he would go to his Father's house to partake of it. So he made himself be carried thither in his chair, where he received the sacrament on his knees, with great devotion; which it may be supposed was the greater, because he apprehended it was to be his last, and so took it as his *viaticum*, and provision for his journey. He had some secret unaccountable presages of his death; for he said that if he did not die on such a day, (which fell to be November 25th,) he believed he should live a month longer; and he died that very day month. He continued to enjoy the free use of his reason and sense to the last moment, which he had often and earnestly prayed for during his sickness. And when his voice was so sunk that he could not be heard, they perceived, by the almost constant lifting up

of his eyes and hands, that he was still aspiring toward that blessed state of which he was now speedily to be possessed.

He had for many years a particular devotion for Christmas day; and after he had received the sacrament, and been in the performance of the public worship of that day, he commonly wrote a copy of verses on the honour of his Saviour, as a fit expression of the joy he felt in his soul at the return of that glorious anniversary. There are seventeen of those copies printed, which he wrote on seventeen several Christmas days, by which the world has a taste of his poetical genius; in which, if he had thought it worth his time to have excelled, he might have been eminent, as well as in other things; but he wrote them rather to entertain himself, than to merit the laurel.

I shall here add one, which has not been yet printed; and it is not unlikely it was the last he wrote. It is a paraphrase on Simeon's song. I take it from his blotted copy, not at all finished; so the reader is to make allowance for any imperfection he may find in it.

"Blessed Creator, who before the birth
Of time, or ere the pillars of the earth
Were fix'd or form'd, didst lay that great design
Of man's redemption; and didst define
In thine eternal counsels all the scene
Of that stupendous business, and when
It should appear: and though the very day
Of its epiphany concealed lay
Within thy mind, yet thou wert pleased to show
Some glimpses of it unto men below,

In visions, types, and prophecies; as we
Things at a distance in perspective see.
But thou wert pleased to let thy servant know
That that bless'd hour, that seem'd to move so slow
Through former ages, should at last attain
Its time, ere my few sands, that yet remain,
Are spent; and that these aged eyes
Should see the day when Jacob's Star should rise.
And now thou hast fulfill'd it, blessed Lord,
Dismiss me now, according to thy word;
And let my aged body now return
To rest, and dust, and drop into an urn:
For I have lived enough; mine eyes have seen
Thy much-desired salvation, that hath been
So long, so dearly wish'd, the joy, the hope
Of all the ancient patriarchs, the scope
Of all the prophecies and mysteries,
Of all the types unveil'd, the histories
Of Jewish church unriddled, and the bright
And orient sun arisen to give light
To Gentiles, and the joy of Israel,
The world's Redeemer, bless'd Emmanuel.
Let this sight close mine eyes; 'tis loss to see,
After this vision, any sight but thee."

Thus he used to sing on the former Christmas days; but now he was to be admitted to bear his part in the new songs above: so that day, which he had spent in so much spiritual joy, proved to be indeed the day of his jubilee and deliverance; for between two and three in the afternoon he breathed out his righteous and pious soul. His end was peace; he had no strugglings, nor seemed to be in any pangs in his last moments. He was buried on January 4th, Mr. Griffith preaching the funeral sermon. His text was Isaiah lvii, 1, "The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and

merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous are taken away from the evil to come." Which, how fitly it was applicable upon this occasion, all that consider the course of his life will easily conclude. He was interred in the church-yard of Alderley, among his ancestors. He did not much approve of burying in churches; and used to say the churches were for the living, and the church-yards for the dead. His monument was like himself, decent and plain: the tombstone was black marble, and the sides were black and white marble; upon which he himself had ordered this bare and humble inscription to be made:—

HIC INHUMATUR CORPUS
MATTHÆI HALE, MILITIS;
ROBERTI HALE, ET JOHANNÆ, UXORIS EJUS,
FILII UNICI.
NATI IN HAC PAROCHIA DE ALDERLEY,
PRIMO DIE NOVEMBRIS,
ANNO DOM. MDCIX.
DENATI VERO IBIDEM
VICESSIMO QUINTO DIE DECEMBRIS,
ANNO DOM. MDCLXXVI. ÆTATIS SUÆ LXVII.

Having thus given an account of the most remarkable things of his life, I am now to present the reader with such a character of him, as the laying his several virtues together will amount to: in which I know how difficult a task I undertake; for to write defectively of him were to injure him, and lessen the memory of one to whom I intend to do all the right that is

in my power. On the other hand, there is so much here to be commended, and proposed for the imitation of others, that I am afraid some may imagine I am rather making a picture of him, from an abstracted idea of great virtues and perfections, than setting him out as he truly was. But there is great encouragement in this, that I write concerning a man so fresh in all people's remembrance, that is so lately dead, and was so much and so well known, that I shall have many vouchers, who will be ready to justify me in that all I am to relate, and to add a great deal to what I can say.

It has appeared in the account of his various learning how great his capacities were, and how much they were improved by constant study. He rose always early in the morning; he loved to walk much abroad; not only for his health, but he thought it opened his mind, and enlarged his thoughts, to have the creation of God before his eyes. When he set himself to any study, he used to cast his design in a scheme, which he did with a great exactness of method: he took nothing on trust, but pursued his inquiries as far as they could go; and as he was humble enough to confess his ignorance, and submit to mysteries which he could not comprehend, so he was not easily imposed on by any shows of reason, or the bugbears of vulgar opinions. He brought all his knowledge as much to scientifical principles as he possibly could, which made him neglect the study of tongues; for the bent of his mind lay another way. Discoursing once

of this to some, they said they looked on the common law as a study that could not be brought into a scheme, nor formed into a rational science, by reason of the indigestedness of it, and the multiplicity of the cases in it, which rendered it very hard to be understood, or reduced into a method. But he said, he was not of their mind; and so, quickly after, he drew with his own hand a scheme of the whole order and parts of it, in a large sheet of paper, to the great satisfaction of those to whom he sent it. Upon this hint, some pressed him to compile a body of the English law: it could hardly ever be done by a man who knew it better, and would with more judgment and industry have put it into method. But he said, as it was a great and noble design, which would be of vast advantage to the nation; so it was too much for a private man to undertake: it was not to be entered upon, but by the command of a prince, and with the communicated endeavours of some of the most eminent of the profession.

He had great vivacity in his fancy, as may appear by his inclination to poetry, and the lively illustrations, and many tender strains in his contemplations: but he looked on eloquence and wit as things to be used very chastely in serious matters, which should come under a severer inquiry. Therefore he was, both when at the bar and on the bench, a great enemy to all eloquence or rhetorick in pleading. He said, if the judge or jury had a right understanding, it signified nothing but a waste of time, and

loss of words; and if they were weak, and easily wrought on, it was a more decent way of corrupting them by bribing their fancies, and biassing their affections: and wondered much at that affectation of the French lawyers, in imitating the Roman orators in their pleadings; for the oratory of the Romans was occasioned by their popular government, and the factions of the city: so that those who intended to excel in the pleading of causes were trained up in the schools of the rhetors, till they became ready and expert in that luscious way of discourse. It is true, the composures of such a man as Tully was, who mixed an extraordinary quickness, an exact judgment, and a just decorum with his skill in rhetoric, do still entertain the readers of them with great pleasure; but at the same time it must be acknowledged, that there is not that chastity of style, that closeness of reasoning, nor that justness of figures in his orations, that are in his other writings; so that a great deal was said by him, rather because he knew it would be acceptable to his auditors, than that it was approved of by himself; and all who read them will acknowledge, they are better pleased with them as essays of wit and style, than as pleadings, by which such a judge as ours was would not be much wrought on. And if there are such grounds to censure the performances of the greatest master in eloquence, we may easily infer what nauseous discourses the other orators made; since in oratory, as well as in poetry, none can do in-

differently. So our judge wondered to find the French, that live under a monarchy, so fond of imitating that which was an ill effect of the popular government of Rome. He, therefore, pleaded himself always in few words, and home to the point. And when he was a judge, he held those that pleaded before him to the main hinge of the business, and cut them short when they made excursions about circumstances of no moment; by which he saved much time, and made the chief difficulties be well stated and cleared.

There was another custom among the Romans which he as much admired as he despised their rhetoric; which was, that the jurisconsults were the men of the highest quality, who were bred to be capable of the chief employment in the state, and became the great masters of their law. These gave their opinions of all cases that were put to them freely, judging it below them to take any present for it; and, indeed, they only were the true lawyers among them, whose resolutions were of that authority, that they made one *classis* of those materials, out of which Trebonian compiled the Digests under Justinian; for the orators, or *causidici*, that pleaded causes, knew little of the law, and only employed their mercenary tongues to work on the affections of the people and senate, or the prætors. Even in most of Tully's orations there is little of law; and that little, which they might sprinkle in their declamations, they had not from their own knowledge, but the resolution

of some jurisconsult; according to that famous story of Servius Sulpitius, who was a celebrated orator, and being to receive the resolution of one of those that were learned in the law, was so ignorant, that he could not understand it; upon which the jurisconsult reproached him, and said, it was a shame for him, that was a nobleman, a senator, and a pleader of causes, to be thus ignorant of the law. This touched him so sensibly that he set about the study of it, and became one of the most eminent jurisconsults that ever were at Rome. Our judge thought it might become the greatness of a prince to encourage such a sort of men, and of studies; in which none in the age he lived in was equal to the great Selden, who was truly in our English law what the old Roman jurisconsults were in theirs.

But where a decent eloquence was allowable, Judge Hale knew how to have excelled as much as any, either in illustrating his reasonings by proper and well-pursued similes, or by such tender expressions as might work most on the affections; so that the present lord chancellor has often said of him since his death, that he was the greatest orator he had known; for though his words came not fluently from him, yet when they were out, they were the most significant and expressive that the matter could bear. Of this sort there are many in his Contemplations, made to quicken his own devotions; which have a life in them becoming him that useth them, and a softness fit to melt even the

harshest tempers, accommodated to the gravity of the subject, and apt to excite warm thoughts in the readers; that as they show his excellent temper that brought them out, and applied them to himself, so they are of great use to all who would both inform and quicken their minds. Of his illustrations of things by proper similes I shall give a large instance, out of his book of the "Origination of Mankind," designed to expose the several different hypotheses the philosophers fell on concerning the eternity and original of the universe; and to prefer the account given by Moses to all their conjectures: in which, if my taste does not misguide me, the reader will find a rare and very agreeable mixture both of fine wit and solid learning and judgment.

"That which may illustrate my meaning in this preference of the revealed light of the holy Scriptures, touching this matter, above the essays of a philosophical imagination, may be this. Suppose that Greece, being unacquainted with the curiosity of mechanical engines, though known in some remote region of the world; and that an excellent artist had secretly brought, and deposited in some field or forest some excellent watch or clock, which had been so formed that the original of its motion were hidden, and involved in some close-contrived piece of mechanism; that this watch was so framed that the motion thereof might have lasted a year, or some such time as might give a reasonable period for their philosophical descanting con-

cerning it; and that in the plain table there had been not only the description and indication of hours, but the configurations and indications of the various phases of the moon, the motion and place of the sun in the ecliptic, and divers other curious indications of celestial motions; and that the scholars of the several schools of Epicurus, of Aristotle, of Plato, and the rest of those philosophical sects, had casually in their walk found this admirable automaton; what kind of work would there have been made by every sect, in giving an account of this phenomenon? We should have had the Epicurean sect have told the by-standers, according to their preconceived hypothesis, that this was nothing else but an accidental concretion of atoms, that happily fallen together had made up the index, the wheels, and the balance; and that being happily fallen into this posture, they were put into motion. Then the Cartesian falls in with him, as to the main of their supposition; but tells him that he does not sufficiently explicate how the engine is put into motion; and therefore, to furnish this motion, there is a certain *materia subtilis*, that pervades this engine, and the moveable parts, consisting of certain globular atoms, apt for motion; they are thereby, and by the mobility of the globular atoms, put into motion. A third finding fault with the two former, because those motions are so regular, and do express the various phenomena of the distribution of time, and of the heavenly motions; therefore it seems to him, that this engine, and motion

also, so analogical to the motions of the heavens, was wrought by some admirable conjunction of the heavenly bodies, which formed this instrument, and its motions, in such an admirable correspondency to its own existence. A fourth, disliking the suppositions of the three former, tells the rest, that he hath a more plain and evident solution of the phenomenon, namely, the universal soul of the world, or spirit of nature, that formed so many sorts of insects with so many organs, faculties, and such congruity of their whole composition, and such curious and various motions, as we may observe in them, hath formed and set into motion this admirable automaton, and regulated and ordered it, with all these congruities we see in it. Then steps in an Aristotelian, and being dissatisfied with all the former solutions, tells them, 'Gentlemen, you are all mistaken; your solutions are inexplicable and unsatisfactory; you have taken up certain precarious hypotheses, and being prepossessed with these creatures of your own fancies, and in love with them, right or wrong, you form all your conceptions of things according to those fancied and preconceived imaginations. The short of the business is, this machine is eternal, and so are all the motions of it; and inasmuch as a circular motion hath no beginning or end, this motion that you see both in the wheels and index, and the successive indications of the celestial motions, is eternal, and without beginning. And this is a ready and expeditious way of solving the pheno-

mena, without so much ado as you have made about it.'

"And while all the masters were thus contriving the solution of the phenomenon, in the hearing of the artist that made it; and when they had all spent their philosophizing upon it, the artist that made this engine, and all this while listened to their admirable fancies, tells them, 'Gentlemen, you have discovered very much excellency of invention, touching this piece of work that is before you; but you are all miserably mistaken; for it was I that made this watch, and brought it hither; and I will show you how I made it. First, I wrought the spring, and the fusee, and the wheels, and the balance, and the case and table; I fitted them one to another, and placed these several axes that are to direct the motions, of the index to discover the hour of the day, of the figure that discovers the phases of the moon, and the other various motions that you see: and then I put it together and wound up the spring, which hath given all these motions that you see in this curious piece of work; and that you may be sure I tell you true, I will tell you the whole order and progress of my making, disposing, and ordering of this piece of work; the several materials of it; the manner of the forming of every individual part of it, and how long I was about it.' This plain and evident discovery renders all these excogitated hypotheses of those philosophical enthusiasts vain and ridiculous, without any great help of rhetorical flourishes, or logical

confutations. And much of the same nature is that disparity of the hypotheses of the learned philosophers, in relation to the origination of the world and man, after a great deal of dust raised, and fanciful explications and unintelligible hypotheses. The plain but divine narrative by the hand of Moses, full of sense and congruity, and clearness, and reasonableness in itself, does at the same moment give us a true and clear discovery of this great mystery, and renders all the essays of the generality of the heathen philosophers to be vain, inevident, and indeed inexplicable theories, the creatures of phantasy and imagination, and nothing else."

CHAPTER V.

As for his virtues, they have appeared so conspicuous in all the several transactions and turns of his life, that it may seem needless to add any more of them than has been already related: but there are many particular instances, which I knew not how to fit to the several years of his life, which will give us a clearer and better view of him.

He was a devout Christian, a sincere Protestant, and a true son of the Church of England; moderate toward dissenters, and just even to those from whom he differed most; which appeared signally in the care he took of preserving the Quakers from that mischief that was

likely to fall on them by declaring their marriages void, and so bastarding their children: but he considered marriage and succession as a right of nature, from which none ought to be barred, what mistake soever they might be under in the points of revealed religion.

And therefore, in a trial that was before him, when a Quaker was sued for some debts owing by his wife before he married her, and the Quaker's counsel pretended that it was no marriage that had passed between them, since it was not solemnized according to the rules of the Church of England; he declared, that he was not willing on his own opinion to make their children bastards, and gave directions to the jury to find it special. It was a reflection on the whole party, that one of them to avoid an inconvenience he had fallen in, thought to have preserved himself by a defence, that, if it had been allowed in law, must have made their whole issue bastards, and incapable of succession. And for all their pretended friendship to one another, if this judge had not been more their friend than one of those they so called, their posterity had been little beholden to them. But he governed himself indeed by the law of the gospel, of doing to others what he would have others do to him; and therefore, because he would have thought it a hardship not without cruelty, if, among Papists all marriages were nulled which had not been made with all the ceremonies in the Roman ritual; so he, applying this to the case of the sectaries,

thought all marriages made according to the several persuasions of men, ought to have their effects in law.

He used constantly to worship God in his family, performing it always himself, if there was no clergyman present. But as to his private exercises in devotion, he took that extraordinary care to keep what he did in secret, that this part of his character must be defective, except it be acknowledged that his humility in covering it commends him much more than the highest expressions of devotion could have done.

From the first time that the impressions of religion settled deeply in his mind, he used great caution to conceal it; not only in obedience to what he believed to be the command of our Saviour, of fasting, praying, and giving alms in secret; but from a particular distrust he had of himself; for he said, he was afraid he should at some time or other do some enormous thing, which, if he were looked on as a very religious man, might cast a reproach on the profession of it, and give great advantages to impious men to blaspheme the name of God. But "a tree is known by its fruits;" and he lived not only free from blemishes or scandal, but shone in all the parts of his conversation. And perhaps the distrust he was in of himself contributed not a little to the purity of his life; for he being thereby obliged to be more watchful over himself, and to depend more on the aids of the Spirit of God, no wonder if that humble temper produced those excellent effects in him.

He had a soul enlarged and raised above that mean appetite of loving money, which is generally the root of all evil. He did not take the profits that he might have had by his practice; for in common cases, when those who came to ask his counsel gave him a piece, he used to give back the half, and so made ten shillings his fee, in ordinary matters that did not require much time or study. If he saw a cause was unjust, he for a great while would not meddle farther in it, but to give his advice that it was so. If the parties after that would go on, they were to seek another counsellor, for he would assist none in acts of injustice. If he found the cause doubtful, or weak in point of law, he always advised his clients to agree among themselves. Yet afterward he abated much of the scrupulosity he had about causes that appeared at first view unjust, upon this occasion: there were two causes brought to him, which, by the ignorance of the party, or their attorney, were so ill represented to him, that they seemed to be very bad; but he inquiring more narrowly into them, found they were really very good and just: so after this he slackened much of his former strictness of refusing to meddle in causes upon the ill circumstances that appeared in them at first.

In his pleading he abhorred those too common faults of misreciting evidences, quoting precedents or books falsely, or asserting things confidently; by which ignorant juries, or weak judges, are too often wrought upon. He

pleaded with the same sincerity that he used in the other parts of his life; and used to say, "It was as great a dishonour as a man was capable of, that for a little money he was to be hired to say or do otherwise than as he thought." All this he ascribed to the unmeasurable desire of heaping up wealth, which corrupted the souls of some that seemed to be otherwise born and made for great things.

When he was a practitioner, differences were often referred to him, which he settled; but would accept of no reward for his pains, though offered by both parties together, after the agreement was made; for he said, in those cases he was made a judge, and a judge ought to take no money. If they told him he lost much of his time in considering their business, and so ought to be acknowledged for it; his answer was, (as one that heard it told me,) "Can I spend my time better than to make people friends? Must I have no time allowed me to do good in?"

He was naturally a quick man; yet, by much practice on himself, he subdued that to such a degree, that he would never run suddenly into any conclusion concerning any matter of importance. *Festina lentè* was his beloved motto, which he ordered to be engraven on the head of his staff; and was often heard say, that he had observed many witty men run into great errors, because they did not give themselves time to think; but the heat of imagination making some notions appear in good colours to

them, they, without staying till that cooled, were violently led by the impulses it made on them: whereas calm and slow men who pass for dull in the common estimation, could search after truth, and find it out, as with more deliberation, so with greater certainty.

He laid aside the tenth penny of all he got for the poor; and took great care to be well informed of proper objects for his charities. And after he was a judge, many of the perquisites of his place, as his dividend of the rule and box money, were sent by him to the jails, to discharge poor prisoners, who never knew from whose hands their relief came. It is also a custom for the marshal of the king's bench to present the judges of that court with a piece of plate for a new-year's gift, that of the chief justice being larger than the rest. This he intended to have refused; but the other judges told him, it belonged to his office, and the refusing it would be a prejudice to his successors; so he was persuaded to take it; but he sent word to the marshal, that, instead of the plate, he should bring him the value of it in money; and when he received it, he immediately sent it to the prisons for the relief and discharge of the poor there. He usually invited his poor neighbours to dine with him, and made them sit at table with himself: and if any of them were sick, so that they could not come, he would send meat warm to them from his table. And he did not only relieve the poor in his own parish, but sent supplies to the neighbouring parishes, as there

was occasion for it; and he treated them all with tenderness and familiarity that became one who considered they were of the same nature with himself, and were reduced to no other necessities but such as he himself might be brought to. But for common beggars, if any of these came to him, as he was in his walks, when he lived in the country, he would ask such as were capable of working, why they went about so idly. If they answered, it was because they could find no work, he often sent them to some field, to gather all the stones in it, and lay them on a heap; and then would pay them liberally for their pains. This being done, he used to send his carts, and caused them to be carried to such places of the highway as needed mending.

But when he was in town, he dealt his charities very liberally, even among the street beggars; and when some told him, that he thereby encouraged idleness, and that most of these were notorious cheats, he used to answer, that he believed most of them were such; but among them there were some that were great objects of charity, and pressed with grievous necessities; and that he had rather give his alms to twenty who might be perhaps rogues, than that one of the other sort should perish for want of that small relief which he gave them.

He loved building much, which he affected chiefly, because it employed many poor people: but one thing was observed in all his buildings, that the changes he made in his houses were

always from magnificence to usefulness; for he avoided every thing that looked like pomp or vanity, even in the walls of his houses. He had good judgment in architecture, and an excellent faculty in contriving well.

He was a gentle landlord to all his tenants, and was ever ready, upon any reasonable complaints, to make abatements; for he was merciful as well as righteous. One instance of this was of a widow, that lived in London, and had a small estate near his house in the country; from which her rents were ill returned to her, and at a cost, which she could not well bear: so she bemoaned herself to him; and he, according to his readiness to assist all poor people, told her, he would order his steward to take up her rents, and the returning them should cost her nothing. But after that, when there was a falling of rents in that country, so that it was necessary to make abatements to the tenant, he would have it to lie on himself, and made the widow to be paid her rent as formerly.

Another remarkable instance of his justice and goodness was, that when he found ill money had been put into his hands, he would never suffer it to be paid again; for he thought it was no excuse for him to put false money in other people's hands, because some had put it into his. A great heap of this he had gathered together; for many had so far abused his goodness as to mix base money among the fees that were given him. It is likely that he intended to destroy it; but some thieves, who had ob-

served it, broke into his chamber, and stole it, thinking they had got a prize; which he used to tell with some pleasure, imagining how they found themselves deceived, when they perceived what sort of booty they had acquired.

After he was made a judge, he would needs pay more for every purchase that he made than it was worth. If it had been but a horse he was to buy, he would have outbid the price; and when some represented to him, that he made ill bargains, he said, it became judges to pay more for what they bought than the true value; that so those with whom they dealt might not think they had any right to their favour, by having sold such things to them at an easy rate; and said it was suitable to the reputation which a judge ought to preserve, to make such bargains, that the world might see they were not too well used upon some secret account.

In sum, his estate did show how little he had minded the raising a great fortune: for from a hundred pounds a year he raised it not quite to nine hundred; and of this a very considerable part came in by his share of Mr. Selden's estate; yet this, considering his great practice while a counsellor, and his constant, frugal, and modest way of living, was but a small fortune. In the share that fell to him by Mr. Selden's will, one memorable thing was done by him, with the other executors, by which they both showed their regard to their dead friend, and their love of the public. His library was valued at some thousands of pounds, and was believed

to be one of the most curious collections in Europe; so they resolved to keep this entire, for the honour of Selden's memory, and gave it to the University of Oxford; where a noble room was added to the former library for its reception, and all due respects have been since showed by that great and learned body, to those their worthy benefactors, who not only parted so generously with this great treasure, but were a little put to it how to oblige them, without crossing the will of their dead friend. Mr. Selden had once intended to give his library to that university, and had left it so by his will; but having occasion for a manuscript which belonged to their library, they asked of him a bond of a thousand pounds for its restitution; this he took so ill at their hands, that he struck out that part of his will, by which he had given them his library, and with some passion declared they should never have it. The executors stuck at this a little; but having considered better of it, came to this resolution, that they were to be the executors of Mr. Selden's will, and not of his passion; so they made good what he had intended in cold blood, and passed over what his passion had suggested to him.

The parting with so many excellent books would have been as uneasy to our judge, as any thing of that nature could be, if a pious regard to his friend's memory had not prevailed over him; for he valued books and manuscripts above all things in the world. He himself had made a great and rare collection of manuscripts be-

longing to the law of England; he was forty years in gathering it: he himself said, it cost him about fifteen hundred pounds, and calls it in his will a treasure worth having and keeping, and not fit for every man's view. These all he left to Lincoln's Inn.

By all these instances it does appear how much he was raised above the world, or the love of it. But having thus mastered things without him, his next study was to overcome his own inclinations. He was, as he said himself, naturally passionate; I add, as he said himself, for that appeared by no other evidence, save that sometimes his colour would rise a little; but he so governed himself, that those who lived long about him have told me, they never saw him disordered with anger, though he met with some trials that the nature of man is as little able to bear as any whatsoever. There was one that did him a great injury, which it is not necessary to mention, who coming afterward to him for his advice in the settlement of his estate, he gave it very frankly to him, but would accept of no fee for it; and thereby showed both that he could forgive as a Christian, and that he had the soul of a gentleman in him, not to take money of one that had wronged him so heinously. And when he was asked by one, how he could use a man so kindly that had wronged him so much, his answer was, he thanked God he had learned to forget injuries. And besides the great temper he expressed in all his public employments, in his family he was

a very gentle master: he was tender of all his servants; he never turned any away, except they were so faulty that there was no reclaiming them. When any of them had been long out of the way, or had neglected any part of their duty, he would not see them at their first coming home, and sometimes not till the next day, lest when his displeasure was quick upon him, he might have chid them indecently; and when he did reprove them, he did it with that sweetness and gravity, that it appeared he was more concerned for their having done a fault, than for the offence given by it to himself. But if they became immoral or unruly, then he turned them away; for he said, He that by his place ought to punish disorders in other people, must by no means suffer them in his own house. He advanced his servants according to the time they had been about him; and would never give occasion to envy among them, by raising the younger clerks above those who had been longer with him. He treated them all with great affection, rather as a friend than a master, giving them often good advice and instruction. He made those who had good places under him give some of their profits to the other servants, who had nothing but their wages. When he made his will, he left legacies to every one of them; but he expressed a more particular kindness for one of them, Robert Gibbon, of the Middle Temple, Esq., in whom he had that confidence that he left him one of his executors. I the rather mention him, because of his noble

gratitude to his worthy benefactor and master; for he has been so careful to preserve his memory, that as he set those on me, at whose desire I undertook to write his life, so he has procured for me a great part of those memorials and informations out of which I have composed it.

The judge was of a most tender and compassionate nature; this did eminently appear in his trying and giving sentence upon criminals, in which he was strictly careful, that not a circumstance should be neglected which might any way clear the fact. He behaved himself with that regard to the prisoners which became both the gravity of a judge and the pity that was due to men whose lives lay at stake, so that nothing of jeering or unreasonable severity ever fell from him. He also examined the witnesses in the softest manner, taking care that they should be put under no confusion, which might disorder their memory: and he summed all the evidence so equally, when he charged the jury, that the criminals themselves never complained of him. When it came to him to give sentence, he did it with that composedness and decency, and his speeches to the prisoners, directing them to prepare for death, were so weighty, so free from all affectation, and so serious and devout, that many loved to go to the trials, when he sat judge, to be edified by his speeches and behaviour in them; and used to say they heard very few such sermons.

But though the pronouncing the sentence of

death was the part of his employment that went most against the grain with him; yet in that he could never be mollified to any tenderness which hindered justice. When he was once pressed to recommend some whom he had condemned to his majesty's mercy and pardon, he answered, he could not think they deserved a pardon whom he himself had adjudged to die; so that all he would do in that kind was to give the king a true account of the circumstances of the fact; after which his majesty was to consider whether he would interpose his mercy, or let justice take place.

His mercifulness extended even to his beasts; for when the horses he had kept long grew old, he would not suffer them to be sold, or much wrought; but ordered his men to turn them loose on his grounds, and put them only to easy work, such as going to market, and the like; he used old dogs also with the same care; his shepherd having one that was become blind with age, he intended to have killed or lost him; but the judge coming to hear of it made one of his servants bring him home, and fed him till he died. And he was scarcely ever seen more angry than with one of his servants for neglecting a bird that he kept, so that it died for want of food.

He was a great encourager of all young persons that he saw followed their books diligently, to whom he used to give directions concerning the method of their study, with a humanity and sweetness that wrought much on all that came

near him; and in a smiling pleasant way he would admonish them, if he saw any thing amiss in them; particularly if they went too fine in their clothes, he would tell them, it did not become their profession. He was not pleased to see students wear long perriwigs, or attorneys go with swords; so that such young men as would not be persuaded to part with those vanities, when they went to him laid them aside, and went as plain as they could, to avoid the reproof which they knew they might otherwise expect.

He was very free and communicative in his discourse, which he most commonly fixed on some good and useful subject; and loved for an hour or two at night to be visited by some of his friends. He neither said nor did any thing with affectation; but used a simplicity that was both natural to himself, and very easy to others; and though he never studied the modes of civility or court breeding, yet he knew not what it was to be rude or harsh with any, except he were impertinently addressed in matters of justice; then he would raise his voice a little, and so shake off those importunities.

In his furniture, and the service of his table, and way of living, he liked the old plainness so well, that as he would set up none of the new fashions, so he rather affected a coarseness in the use of the old ones; which was more the effect of his philosophy than disposition, for he loved fine things too much at first. He was always of an equal temper, rather cheerful than

merry. Many wondered to see the evenness of his deportment, in some very sad passages of his life.

Having lost one of his sons, the manner of whose death had some grievous circumstances in it, one coming to see him and condole, he said to him, those were the effects of living long; such must live to see many sad and unacceptable things; and having said that he went to other discourses with his ordinary freedom of mind; for though he had a temper so tender, that sad things were apt to make deep impressions upon him, yet the regard he had to the wisdom and providence of God, and the just estimate he made of external things, did to admiration maintain the tranquillity of his mind; and he gave no occasion by idleness to melancholy to corrupt his spirit; but by the perpetual bent of his thoughts he knew well how to divert them from being oppressed with the excesses of sorrow.

He had a generous and noble idea of God in his mind; and this he found did above all other considerations preserve his quiet; and indeed that was so well established in him, that no accidents, how sudden soever, were observed to discompose him: of which an eminent man of that profession gave me this instance:—In the year 1666, an opinion ran through the nation, that the end of the world would come that year. This, whether set on by astrologers, or advanced by those who thought it might have some relation to the number of the beast in the Reve-

lation, or promoted by men of ill designs to disturb the public peace, had spread mightily among the people: and Judge Hale going that year the western circuit, it happened, that as he was on the bench at the assizes, a most terrible storm fell out very unexpectedly, accompanied with such flashes of lightning and claps of thunder that the like will hardly fall out in an age. Upon which a whisper or a rumour run through the crowd, that now was the world to end, and the day of judgment to begin; and at this there followed a general consternation in the whole assembly, and all men forgot the business they were met about, and betook themselves to their prayers. This, added to the horror raised by the storm, looked very dismally, insomuch that my author, a man of no ordinary resolution and firmness of mind, confessed that it made a great impression on himself. But he told me, that he did observe the judge was not a whit affected, and was going on with the business of the court in his ordinary manner; from which he made this conclusion, that his thoughts were so well fixed, that he believed, if the world had been really to end, it would have given him no considerable disturbance.

But I shall now conclude all that I shall say concerning him, with what one of the greatest men of the profession of the law sent me as an abstract of the character he had made of him, upon long observation, and much converse with him. It was sent me, that from thence, with the other materials, I might make such a repre-

sentation of him to the world as he indeed deserved: but I resolved not to shred it out in parcels, but to set it down entirely as it was sent me; hoping, that as the reader will be much delighted with it, so the noble person that sent it will not be offended with me for keeping it entire, and setting it in the best light I could. It begins abruptly, being designed to supply the defects of others, from whom I had earlier and more copious information.

"He would never be brought to discourse of public matters in private conversation; but in questions of law, when any young lawyer put a case to him, he was very communicative, especially while he was at the bar: but when he came to the bench, he grew more reserved, and would never suffer his opinion in any case to be known, till he was obliged to declare it judicially; and he concealed his opinion in great cases so carefully, that the rest of the judges in the same court could never perceive it. His reason was, because every judge ought to give sentence according to his own persuasion and conscience, and not to be swayed by any respect or deference to another man's opinion. And by this means it hath happened sometimes, that when all the barons of the exchequer had delivered their opinions, and agreed in their reasons and arguments; yet he coming to speak last, and differing in judgment from them, hath expressed himself with so much weight and solidity, that the barons have immediately retracted their votes, and concurred with him.

He hath sat as a judge in all the courts of law, and in two of them as chief; but still, wherever he sat, all business of consequence followed him; and no man was content to sit down by the judgment of any other court, till the case was brought before him, to see whether he were of the same mind; and his opinion being once known, men did readily acquiesce in it; and it was very rarely seen that any man attempted to bring it about again; and he that did so did it upon great disadvantages, and was always looked upon as a very contentious person: so that what Cicero says of Brutus did very often happen to him, *etiam quos contra statuit æquos placatosque dimisit.*

"Nor did men reverence his judgment and opinion in courts of law only; but his authority was as great in courts of equity, and the same respect and submission was paid to him there too: and this appeared not only in his own court of equity in the exchequer chamber, but in the chancery too; for thither he was often called to advise and assist the lord chancellor, or lord keeper for the time being: and if the cause were of difficult examination, or intricated and entangled with variety of settlements, no man ever showed a more clear and discerning judgment: if it were of great value, and great persons interested in it, no man ever showed greater courage and integrity in laying aside all respect of persons. When he came to deliver his opinion, he always put his discourse into such a method, that one part of it gave light to

the other; and where the proceedings of chancery might prove inconvenient to the subject, he never spared to observe and reprove them: and from his observations and discourses, the chancery hath taken occasion to establish many of those rules by which it governs itself at this day.

"He did look upon equity as a part of the common law, and one of the grounds of it; and, therefore, as near as he could, he did always reduce it to certain rules and principles, that men might study it as a science, and not think the administration of it had any thing arbitrary in it. Thus eminent was this man in every station; and into what court soever he was called, he quickly made it appear that he deserved the chief seat there.

"As great a lawyer as he was, he would never suffer the strictness of law to prevail against conscience: as great a chancellor as he was, he would make use of all the niceties and subtleties in law, when it tended to support right and equity. But nothing was more admirable in him than his patience. He did not affect the reputation of quickness and despatch, by a hasty and captious hearing of the counsel: he would bear with the meanest, and gave every man his full scope, thinking it much better to lose time than patience. In summing up of an evidence to a jury, he would always require the bar to interrupt him if he mistook; and to put him in mind of it, if he forgot the least circumstance. Some judges have been disturbed at this, as a

rudeness, which he always looked upon as a service and respect done to him.

"His whole life was nothing else but a continual course of labour and industry; and when he could borrow any time from the public service, it was wholly employed either in philosophical or divine meditations; and even that was a public service too, as it hath proved; for they have occasioned his writing of such treatises as are become the choicest entertainment of wise and good men; and the world hath reason to wish that more of them were printed. He that considers the active part of his life, and with what unwearied diligence and application of mind he despatched all men's business which came under his care, will wonder how he could find any time for contemplation. He that considers again the various studies he passed through, and the many collections and observations he hath made, may as justly wonder how he could find any time for action. But no man can wonder at the exemplary piety and innocence of such a life so spent as this was; wherein as he was careful to avoid every idle word, so it is manifest he never spent an idle day. They who come far short of this great man will be apt enough to think that this is a panegyric, which indeed is a history, and but a little part of that history which was with great truth to be related of him. Men who despair of attaining such perfection are not willing to believe that any man else ever arrived at such a height.

"He was the greatest lawyer of the age, and

might have had what practice he pleased: but though he did most conscientiously affect the labours of his profession, yet at the same time he despised the gain of it; and of those profits, which he would allow himself to receive, he always set apart a tenth penny for the poor, which he ever dispensed with that secrecy, that they who were relieved seldom or never knew their benefactor. He took more pains to avoid the honours and preferments of the gown than others do to compass them. His modesty was beyond all example; for where some men, who never attained to half his knowledge, have been puffed up with a high conceit of themselves, and have affected all occasions of raising their own esteem by depreciating other men; he, on the contrary, was the most obliging man that ever practised. If a young gentleman happened to be retained to argue a point in law, where he was on the contrary side, he would very often mend the objections, when he came to repeat them, and always commend the gentleman, if there were room for it; and one good word of his was of more advantage to a young man than all the favour of the court could be."

CHAPTER VI.

He was twice married: his first wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Moore, of Faley, in Berkshire, grandchild to Sir Francis Moore,

sergeant at law: by her he had ten children; the four first died young, the other six lived to be all married; and he outlived them all except his eldest daughter and his youngest son.

His eldest son, Robert, married Frances the daughter of Sir Francis Chock, of Avington in Berkshire; and they both dying in a little time one after another, left five children; two sons, Matthew and Gabriel; and three daughters, Anne, Mary, and Frances: and by the judge's advice they both made him their executor; so he took his grandchildren into his own care, and among them he left his estate.

His second son, Matthew, married Anne the daughter of Mr. Matthew Simmonds, of Hilsley in Gloucestershire, who died soon after, and left one son behind him, named Matthew.

His third son, Thomas, married Rebekah the daughter of Christian Le Brune, a Dutch merchant, and died without issue.

His fourth son, Edward, married Mary the daughter of Edmund Goodyere, Esq., of Heythorp in Oxfordshire. He had two sons and three daughters.

His eldest daughter, Mary, was married to Edward Alderly of Innishannon, in the county of Cork, in Ireland; who, dying, left her with two sons and three daughters: she was afterward married to Edward Stephens, son to Edward Stephens, Esq., of Cherington in Gloucestershire.

His youngest daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Edward Webb, Esq., barrister at law;

she died, leaving two children, a son and a daughter.

His second wife was Anne the daughter of Mr. Joseph Bishop, of Faley in Berkshire, by whom he had no children. He gives her a great character in his will, as a most dutiful, faithful, and loving wife, and therefore trusted the breeding of his grandchildren to her care, and left her one of his executors; to whom he joined Sir Robert Jenkinson and Mr. Gibbon. So much may suffice concerning those descended from him.

In after times, it is not to be doubted, but it will be reckoned no small honour to descend from him; and this has made me more particular in reckoning up his issue. I shall next give an account of the issues of his mind, his books, that are either printed, or remain in manuscript; for the last of these, by his will, he has forbidden the printing of any of them after his death, except such as he should give order for in his life: but he seems to have changed his mind afterward, and to have left it to the discretion of his executors which of them might be printed: for though he does not express that, yet he ordered by a codicil, that if any book of his writing, as well touching the common law, as other subjects, should be printed; that what should be given for the consideration of the copy, should be divided into ten shares, of which he appointed seven to go among his servants, and three to those who had copied them out, and were to look after the impression. The reason,

as I have understood it, that made him so unwilling to have any of his works printed after his death was, that he apprehended in the licensing them, (which was necessary before any book could be lawfully printed, by a law then in force, but since his death determined,) some things might have been struck out or altered; which he had observed, not without some indignation, had been done to a part of the reports of one whom he had much esteemed.

This, in matters of law, he said, might prove to be of such mischievous consequence, that he thereupon resolved none of his writings should be at the mercy of licensers: and therefore, because he was not sure that they should be published without expurgations or interpolations, he forbade the printing of any of them; in which he afterward made some alteration; at least he gave occasion by his codicil to infer that he altered his mind.

This I have the more fully explained, that his last will may be no way misunderstood, and that his worthy executors, and his hopeful grandchildren, may not conclude themselves to be under an indispensable obligation of depriving the public of his excellent writings.

Thus lived and died Sir Matthew Hale, the renowned lord chief justice of England. He had one of the blessings of virtue in the highest measure of any of the age, that does not always follow it; which was, that he was universally much valued and admired by men of all sides and persuasions: for as none could hate

him, but for his justice and virtues, so the great estimation he was generally in made that few durst undertake to defend so ungrateful a paradox, as any thing said to lessen him would have appeared to be. His name is scarcely ever mentioned since his death without particular accents of singular respect. His opinion in points of law generally passes as an uncontrollable authority, and is often pleaded in all the courts of justice: and all that knew him well do still speak of him as one of the most perfect patterns of religion and virtue they ever saw.

The commendations given him by all sorts of people are such, that I can hardly come under the censures of this age, for any thing I have said concerning him; yet if this book lives to after-times, it will be looked on perhaps as a picture drawn more according to fancy and invention, than after the life; if it were not that those who knew him well, establishing its credit in the present age, will make it pass down to the next with a clearer authority.

I shall pursue his praise no farther in my own words, but shall add what the then lord chancellor of England said concerning him, when he delivered the commission to the Lord Chief Justice Rainsford, who succeeded him in that office; which he began in this manner:—

"The vacancy of the seat of the chief justice of this court, and that by a way and means so unusual, as the resignation of him that lately held it, and this too proceeding from so deplorable a cause as the infirmity of that body which

began to forsake the ablest mind that ever presided here, hath filled the kingdom with lamentations, and given the king many and pensive thoughts, how to supply that vacancy again." And a little after, speaking to his successor, he said, "The very labours of the place, and that weight and fatigue of business which attend it, are no small discouragements; for what shoulders may not justly fear that burden which made him stoop that went before you? Yet, I confess, you have a greater discouragement than the mere burden of your place; and that is, the inimitable example of your predecessor. *Onerosum est succedere bono prinsipi*, was the saying of him in the panegyric: and you will find it so too, that are to succeed such a chief justice, of so indefatigable an industry, so invincible a patience, so exemplary an integrity, and so magnanimous a contempt of worldly things, without which no man can be truly great: and, to all this, a man that was so absolute a master of the science of the law, and even of the most abstruse and hidden parts of it, that one may truly say of his knowledge in the law, what St. Austin said of St. Hierom's knowledge in divinity, *Quod Hieronymus nescivit, nullus mortalium unquam scivit.* And therefore the king would not suffer himself to part with so great a man, till he had placed upon him all the marks of bounty and esteem which his retired and weak condition was capable of."

To this high character, in which the expressions, as they well become the eloquence of

him who pronounced them, so they do agree exactly to the subject, without the abatements that are often to be made for rhetoric, I shall add that part of the lord chief justice's answer, in which he speaks of his predecessor.

——"A person, in whom his eminent virtues, and deep learning, have long managed a contest for the superiority, which is not decided to this day; nor will it ever be determined, I suppose, which shall get the upper hand: a person that has sat in this court these many years, of whose actions there I have been an eye and ear witness, that by the greatness of his learning always charmed his auditors to reverence and attention: a person of whom I think I may boldly say, that as former times cannot show any superior to him, so I am confident succeeding and future time will never show any equal. These considerations, heightened by what I have heard from your lordship concerning him, made me anxious and doubtful, and put me to a stand, how I should succeed so able, so good, and so great a man. It doth very much trouble me, that I, who in comparison of him am but like a candle lighted in the sunshine, or like a glow-worm at mid-day, should succeed so great a person, that is and will be so eminently famous to all posterity. And I must ever wear this motto in my breast, to comfort me, and in my actions to excuse me:—

'Sequitur, quamvis non passibus æquis.'"

Thus were panegyrics made upon him while

yet alive, in that same court of justice which he had so worthily governed. As he was honoured while he lived, so he was much lamented when he died : and this will still be acknowledged as a just inscription for his memory, though his modesty forbad any such to be put on his tomb-stone :—That he was one of the greatest patterns this age has afforded, whether in his private deportment as a Christian, or in his public employments, either at the bar or on the bench.

THE LIFE

OF

REV. JOSEPH ALLEINE.

The memory of the just is blessed.
Prov. x, 7.

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THE LIFE

OF

THE REV. JOSEPH ALLEINE.

CHAPTER I.

WRITTEN BY AN EYE WITNESS.

Mr. Joseph Alleine was born in Devizes, in Wiltshire, in the year 1633. During his childhood he showed forth a singular sweetness of disposition, and a remarkable diligence in every thing about which he was employed. The first observable zeal for religion that appeared in him was in the eleventh year of his age; about which time he was very diligent in private prayer, and so fixed in that duty, that he would not be disturbed by the coming of any person accidentally into the places of his retirement. This and other fruits of a serious and gracious spirit were the common observation of the family. From this time the whole course of his youth was an even thread of godly conversation, which was rendered more amiable by his sweet and pleasant deportment toward all that he conversed with. While he thus openly began to run his Christian race, his

brother, Mr. Edward Alleine, a worthy minister of the gospel, departed this life; whereupon he earnestly desired to be brought up in preparation, to succeed him in the work of the ministry. To this good motion his father gladly hearkened, and speedily prepared to put it in execution. Such was his great diligence at school that he redeemed for his book the time allotted for recreation. In the space of about four years he attained to very good knowledge in the Latin and Greek tongues, and was by his schoolmaster adjudged fit for university studies. After this he abode some time with his father in the country, where a worthy minister read logic to him: and when he was about sixteen years old he was placed in Lincoln College, Oxford.

He had not been long in the university before a Wiltshire place becoming void in Corpus Christi College, he was chosen scholar of that house; the pregnancy of his parts assuring all that his own merits were the sole friends and the only mandamus that brought him in.

Being entered and settled, he gave early and constant proofs of indefatigable industry; signalizing thereby his love to learning, and demonstrating how much he abhorred to be found a drone in such a hive. He esteemed a college another place than a victualling house, and coming into this with a nobler design than only to take commons, he thought himself happy in nothing so much as the advantage which he had gained for attaining the best scholarship.

I have known many who in the very places which they have got by their parts, have lost the parts which got them their places; and peradventure had been excellent scholars, had they never had those encouragements to be so which they unhappily won from their competitors; for idleness enervates the strength of nature, and makes those logs which might have been Mercuries; but this person was none of those. The quitting of himself so well at the election was but a pledge and earnest of his doing better afterward. He made it appear to all, that when he stood, he stood not so much for a place as for the accomplishments by his future studiousness attainable in it; demeaning himself like one who, even in the days of his vanity, well understood how profane a thing it is to live in a school of learning no otherwise than as if it were a sanctuary for laziness, or a place privileged with nothing but leave and opportunity to eat the founder's bread with no other sweat of the brow than what is provoked in a ball-court.

Never had learning a truer drudge since she kept house in Oxford. At her work he was both day and night, thinking all time too little, no pains too much, that he spent in her service. When but a school-boy, as I have heard, he was observed to be so studious that he was known as much by this periphrasis, "The lad that will not play," as by his name. And sure I am, when in the university, he was so generously bookish that he deserved to be called

"the scholar who by his good will would do nothing else but pray and study."

Courteous he was, and very civil to all acquaintance; but if they came to visit him at studying times, though they were sure enough to find him within, yet withal so busy generally with better company as to have no leisure to let them in. And if at this they were moved, and murmured, and went away offended with him, he cared not. That notable principle of Joachimus Fortius, which shut him up, bearing him out, and being his relief in all such cases, namely, "Better it is that they should wonder at thy rudeness, than that thou shouldest lose thy time; for only one or two will take notice of that, but all posterity would be sensible of this."

His appetite to his business being that to him which alarums in their chambers are wont to be to others—seldom it was that he could be found in bed after four in the morning; though he had stayed up on the same occasion on which he then rose till almost one over night.

For though while junior scholar he obtained many weekly sleeping days for others, yet in many years he could hardly vouchsafe himself so much as one.

And as thus he begrudged himself his rest, so thus also his very food; it being as familiar with him to give away his commons at least once, as with any others to eat theirs twice a day: as if he, who was never satisfied how many volumes soever he devoured, had looked upon

it as a kind of gluttony to eat that meal, the time of eating which might, without prejudice to health, have been better spent upon a book. Porphyry's wish, that he were able to live without eating and drinking at all, that so he might be wholly taken up with nobler things, is surely the wish of thousands in the learned world. Certain I am it was his; and that if piety would have suffered him, and they had not been such friends, he would have fallen out with God, for tying his soul to such a body as could not subsist without (what he would often call no better than time-consuming things) meat, and drink, and sleep.

That this, his laborious studiousness, was as delightful and pleasant to him as the highest voluptuousness can be to the most sensual sot, I conclude, not only from the constancy of it, but from his charging matrimony, to which afterward he became a subject, with no greater tyranny than the necessity which it laid upon him of being kinder sometimes unto himself than he was wont to be in Oxford. For, being married, an intimate friend of his, of the same college, who had thoughts of changing his condition, wrote to him, and in a jesting manner desired of him an account of the inconveniences of marriage; to whom he returned this pleasant but very significant answer: "Thou wouldest know the inconveniences of a wife; and I will tell thee: first of all, whereas thou risest constantly at four in the morning, or before, she will keep thee till about six; secondly, whereas

thou usest to study fourteen hours in the day; she will bring thee to eight or nine; thirdly, whereas thou art wont to forbear one meal a day, at least, for thy studies; she will bring thee to thy meat. If these be not mischiefs enough to affright thee, I know not what thou art."

Through his industry, with God's blessing upon it, he exceedingly prospered in his studies, and quickly appeared a notable proficient. He would often say that he chiefly affected rational learning, valuing skill in languages only for the sake of things; and those things most which were of all most likely to improve his judgment. And the truth of his words was sufficiently evident; for all that knew him knew him to be a good linguist, a smart disputant, and an excellent philosopher. When he performed any academical exercises, either in the hall or in the schools, he seldom or never came off without the applause, or at least approbation, of all but the envious; who also themselves, even by their very detractions, in spite of their teeth, commended him—there being to the in genuous no surer sign almost of his having acquitted himself well, than that such as they could not endure it should have been said so.

Certain I am his pregnant parts and early accomplishments were so much taken notice of in the college, that so soon almost as he was bachelor of arts, he was even compelled to commence a tutor; and presently intrusted (to speak within compass) with as great a number of pu-

pils as any in the house. Some of his scholars were soon graduates in divinity, and singular ornaments of that flourishing society; (as Mr. John Rosewell, B. D., Mr. Nicholas Horseman, B. D., &c.;) others of them, who left the university, have not gone without considerable preferments in the church; as Mr. John Peachil, lately lecturer at St. Clements Danes, without Temple-bar; Mr. Christopher Coward, Prebendary of Wells, &c. And I make no question but all of them who are yet alive honour his memory, and will at any time be ready to express the grateful sense of the advantage which they received from his prudent instructions and pious example.

It is true indeed that he had no advancement proportionable to his merits while he staid among us at the university; but if there were any thing to be blamed for that, it was nothing else but his own self-denial. For a chaplain's place becoming void, he chose that before a fellowship, which he knew well enough in a little time would, of course, and by right, have been certainly his. And this choice having been made by him at first deliberately, he never after in the least repented, but rather often reflected on it with great content and comfort. For he had always such a huge affection for prayer, that he and his friend could hardly ever walk and discourse together, but, before they parted, at his desire, they must also go and pray together. And what a pleasure then may we think it was to him twice a day to engage a whole

society in so dear an exercise, with a "Let us pray!" Frequently indeed have I heard him say, that he prized the employment above that which we generally reckoned much better preferment, and looked upon it as his honour and happiness.

And it was well with us that so he did; it being hardly possible that the duty of the place should have been by any discharged better than it was by him. We were not used to a great deal of noise, vain tautologies, crude effusions, unintelligible sense, or mysterious nonsense, instead of prayer. His spirit was serious; his gesture reverent; his words few, but premeditated and well weighed, pithy, solid, and to the full expressive of his truly humble and earnest desire. He loathed the sauciness which went by the name of holy boldness, and drew near to God not as if he had been going to play with his mate, but as became a creature overawed with the majesty of his great Creator. He prayed with the spirit and the understanding also; confessed sin with real grief, inward hatred, and detestation; and begged the mercies he came to beg, like one that felt the want and worth of what he begged; with faith, and fervency, and true importunity; his affections working, but working rationally as well as strongly.

And this (as I doubt not it prevailed above) had on us the more powerful influence, because we found it to be no mere religious fit, but exactly agreeable to the habitual frame and dis-

position of the man. It is a shrewd reflection which Suidas makes on the philosopher Sallust, how truly I know not, for he is neither civil nor just to some. "Sallust's carriage was strange to all men; for though, when he read his philosophy lectures, he did it gravely and very solemnly; yet at other times he played the child, and that most ridiculously." And there are too many, both chaplains and preachers, who justly merit as bad a censure. While praying and preaching, they appear demure, and mightily devout; yet take them out of their desks and pulpits, and they are as light, as vain and frothy, yea, dissolute, as any others. But it was not so with this person: for he was always composed and serious, grave and reverend, above his age. He set God always before him, and wherever he was, laboured to live as in his presence. It was his solemn business to be religious; his great endeavour to walk by rule; his main design, in all his ways, to approve himself unto his Father, which saw in secret; and his daily exercise to keep a conscience void of offence both toward God and toward man.

As for the pleasures and delights of sin, he highly nauseated and abhorred them: he was so above them that he could not endure them. How sweet was it to him, (as said once St. Austin,) to want those sweets! And as for lawful delights and pleasures, although he did divert unto, and now and then solace a while, and entertain himself with them, yet how little was

his heart to them, or was he generally taken with them! He was as formal in using them as some Christians are in God's service: as they sometimes pray, as if they prayed not; and hear, as if they heard not; so he rejoiced in such things as these, as if he rejoiced not. He looked upon them, compared with others, as upon his righteousness compared with Christ's; as very vanity, yea, dross and dung. His conversation being in heaven, his sweetest comforts and most prized refreshments were divine and heavenly. His soul took often a delightful prospect of eternity, viewing the regions of bliss and glory, looking wishfully at her Father's seat, the mount of joy, aspiring after a nobler mansion, and cherishing herself in a comfortable persuasion, that it would not be long ere she should be in it. And hereupon as he little minded any earthly glory, so he little minded or cared for the poor and empty delights of sense.

However, he was not morosely pious, nor did his affection to God and goodness, and the things above, make him either a Timon or a cynic. It had not then been so true and genuine, and of so right a kind, as it was. Homilitical virtue he as much excelled in as any other; and the decried morality found ever with him very great respect, being recognised as an integral part of his religion.

He was of as sweet a disposition, and of as highly civil a conversation, as a man subject to the common frailties of human nature almost could be. He had scarcely a gesture which did

not seem to speak, and, by a powerful and charming rhetoric, affect all with whom he conversed. Were it not that he had so many other moral perfections and excellences besides that, it might as truly be said of him, as by the historian was of the emperor, in respect of his clemency, that he was made up as it were of nothing else but courtesy and affability.

For a friend, I think I may safely say, he was one of the truest that ever person had interest in; and withal, as pleasant as a serious Christian could well wish. He loved not rashly; but where he loved, he loved entirely; and whoever came to be entertained in his affections were sure to find a warm lodging. There was no more but only one thing, which he thought too much for any, for whom he thought not his love too good. He could not sin, knowingly and willingly, for any friend he had on earth. So far as lawfully and conscientiously he might do any thing, he stuck at nothing wherein he might serve, please, or gratify them whom he loved.

And yet his love was not engrossed by his friends only; for while to them he showed himself friendly, good nature as well as Christianity obliged him to be kind to all, and according to his ability to the poor bountiful. He was too frugal to throw away his charity; yet not so covetous as to withhold it when he met with objects to whom it was due. He did not think the little he had so much his own, as that his necessitous brethren might not claim a part in

it; and therefore gave them as if he had been paying debts, and not bestowing alms. But of all most admirable was his affection to the souls of others, and his desire to do good to them.

The sage Pythagoras gave this very mystical but wise advice unto his scholars, "By no means to eat their own brains;" intending by it, as it is conceived, that they should not keep their reason, of which the brain is an immediate instrument, to themselves, but employ it for the advantage of others. And surely this person did forbear to eat; but, by his abstinence, fed many others with his enlightened and improved reason. Some there are, to my knowledge, who verily think they should never have found the way to live, to live for ever, if he had lived unto himself. Eminent was his charity to the poor prisoners in Oxford jail; among whom first, as the Rev. Mr. Perkins did at Cambridge, of his own accord he began to preach, and held on constantly while he remained in town once a fortnight, for a year and upward; encouraging them to give attendance on his ministry, by a considerable allowance of bread, that week he preached, at his proper cost and charges. Frequent visits also was he used to make, at other times, to other persons in the world that were but mean and low; his main design, together with the relieving of their temporal wants, being to assist their souls, and help them forward in their way to heaven. And indeed, in all his converse, wherever he was, he was like fire, warming, refreshing,

quickening all that were about him, and kindling in them the like zeal for God and goodness which he had in himself. Whoever they were that came to visit, or to be acquainted with him, it was their fault if they got not by him so much good as to be for ever the better for him. It was hardly possible to be in his company, and not to hear such things from him, as, if well weighed, might have been enough to make one out of conceit with sin, and in love with virtue, as long as one lived. Though he did not say, as Titus once, yet by his actions we may judge he thought, that he had even quite lost a day, when none had gained somewhat by him. He lived as if he had been quickened with that saying, which I have somewhere met with in Tertullian, "To what purpose is it to live, and not to live to some good purpose?"

But this ardent love for the souls of men quickly deprived us of his company. It carried him down into the country, where how he demeaned and carried himself let others speak.

CHAPTER II.

BY THE REV. RICHARD ALLEINE, WHO WAS NEARLY RELATED TO HIM.

Of his extraction I shall say but little. He was the son of a godly father, Mr. Toby Alleine, some time of the Devizes; an understanding, affectionate, prudent, and signally humble

and experienced Christian; who died suddenly, but sweetly; his son surviving him not above a year or two. He, having been languishing for some little time, at length seemed to be on the recovery, and went about his house. On the morning before he died, he arose about four; about ten or eleven he came down out of his closet, and called for something to eat, which being prepared, he gave thanks, but could not eat any thing. His wife perceiving a sudden change in him, persuaded him to go to his bed. He answered, "No, but I will die in my chair; and I am not afraid to die." He sat down, and only said, "My life is hid with Christ in God;" and then he closed his eyes with his own hands, and died immediately. No more of the father. Concerning his son I shall speak, what he was, and what his temper and behaviour were, as a man, as a Christian, as a minister.

As a man, he was of quick natural parts, and great acquired abilities; concerning which I shall need say no more, there being a fuller account given by another hand. He was also

Of a composed, grave, and serious temper and behaviour; not at all morose, but full of candour; free, affable, cheerful, and courteous.

As a Christian, he was, for exemplary holiness and heavenliness of mind and life, much elevated above the ordinary rank. He lived much in delightful communion with God; his soul was greatly exercised in divine contemplation; and he would sometimes speak (to provoke others, whom he wished the same

delights, to the same exercise) what ineffable pleasure, sweetness, and satisfaction his soul had found in his stated meditations on the divine attributes, distinctly one by one. In his discourses he would speak much and passionately to the commending and exalting of the divine goodness, and of the inexpressible tenderness of the divine love. In prayer he was not ordinarily so much in confession or complaining of corruption and infirmities, (though he expressed a due sense of these,) as in the admiring and praising of God for his infinitely glorious perfections; in the mention of his wonderful works, particularly of those wonders of his love revealed in Jesus Christ. In some of his letters to me, when he had been speaking of the grace and goodness of God, (with the sense whereof he would seem to be even quite swallowed up,) he would break off with some such expressions as these: "I am full of the mercies of the Lord. O love the Lord for me, O praise the Lord for my sake. O help me, help me, to praise the Lord!"

His whole life was adorned and beautified with the admirable lustre of particular personal graces.

He was a man of love. His sweet, amicable, and courteous converse was such as rendered him the delight of his acquaintance, and made way for the entertainment both of his serious counsels and severer reproofs. He grew dear to the saints that knew him, because they saw in his very face, and in all his carriage, how

very dear they were to him. His compassion to those in distress, his bounty to those in want, (wherein he abounded beyond his ability,) his forbearance in case of offences, his affectionate language and conduct, his readiness to all obliging offices of love to his relations, to his friends, to strangers, to enemies, evidently declared how he loved them. Especially his love was let forth in fuller streams upon the congregation where he exercised his ministry. The people of his care were the people of his delight. His ardent longing for their souls; his rejoicing in their souls' prosperity; his bleedings and breakings of soul under any of their falls and infirmities; his incessant labours among them, both publicly and from house to house; his frequent and affectionate letters to them when he was absent; his earnest desire to live and die, and be buried among them, (declaring to them, that if he died within fifty miles of Taunton, his will was to be brought and buried there, that his bones might be laid with their bones, his dust mingled with their dust,) these all declare how greatly they were in his heart.

He was a man of courage. He feared no dangers in the way of his duty, knowing that "he that walks uprightly walks surely." In cases less clear, he was very inquisitive to understand his way, and then he fixed without fear.

He feared not the faces of men, but where occasion was he was bold in admonishing, and faithful in reproving; which ungrateful duty he managed with such prudence, and such expres-

sions of love and compassion to souls, as made his way into hearts more easy, and his work more successful.

He was a son of peace; both a zealous peace-maker among differing brethren, in case of personal quarrels and contentions; and also of sober and peaceful principles, and a healing spirit, as to parties or factions upon the account of religion. He had an awful and reverend regard for magistrates, abhorring all provoking and insolent expressions, or mutinous and tumultuous actions against them.

He was a man of truth and righteousness; both as to his own personal practice, and also was much in pressing it upon others, especially professors of religion, to be exemplarily just in their dealings, and true in their words; to be wary in promising, and punctual in performing. O how often and passionately have I heard him bewail the sins of promise-breaking and deceitful dealing! whereof such as he hath known to be guilty have understood both by word and writing how much his soul was grieved at them, for the wrong they did hereby to their own souls especially, and the reproach they brought upon the gospel of our Lord.

He was of great patience. To say nothing of his behaviour under sufferings of other kinds, his great weakness, and long languishing for some years together, and his constant serenity, calmness, and quietness of spirit, in all that time, so far from the least touch of murmuring, that he was still blessing the Lord for his tender deal-

ings with him,—have given the world a full proof that he was of a patient spirit.

He was eminent in liberality. He not only did but devised liberal things, and by liberal things did he stand. He studied and considered how he might both give himself, and procure from others relief for those in want. He gave much alms daily, both in the place where he lived, and wherever he came. When there were collections at any time for pious and charitable uses, he stirred up others to bountiful giving, both by word and also by his example. In the collection for the fire in London, he gave publicly such a liberal proportion as he thought meet to be an example to others; and (as I came occasionally to understand) lest it should be misjudged he had been known to give more, he gave more than twice as much secretly. He distributed much among his relations. His aged father, and divers of his brethren, with their large families, being fallen into decay, he took great care for them all, and gave education to some, pensions to others, portions to others of them; and notwithstanding all this, he had but a very small stock to begin upon, and never above eighty pounds per annum, that I know of, and near the one half of his time not above half so much: only by the industry of his wife, who for divers years kept a boarding school, his income was for that time considerably enlarged. He took great pains in journeyings abroad to many gentlemen, and other rich men in the country, to procure a standing supply

for such nonconforming ministers as were in want.

He was of an active spirit. He went about doing good. As he was abundant and incessant in his labours in the congregation where he lived; so wherever he came, he would be scattering some good seed, not only among adults, but he would be dealing much with the children in those families into which he came, asking them questions, giving them counsel, and sometimes leaving them his counsel in writing. In his own family (which was great while his wife kept boarders) he was exceedingly industrious; the gravity of his carriage, contempered with much sweetness and affability toward those young ones, begat in many of them the awe and love as of children to their father, and made way for the success of his endeavours with them; which was considerable upon several of them. At Bath, while he lay sick there, he sent for many of the poor, both old and children, and gave them catechisms, engaging them to learn them, and give him an account; who came cheerfully and frequently to him, being encouraged hereto by his familiar and winning carriage, his giving them money, his feeding and feasting them. He would sometimes say, "It is a pity that counsel of our Lord, (Luke xvi, 13,) of feasting the poor, was no more practised among Christians."

He was of an humble spirit. Though God had so exceedingly lifted him up in the hearts of others, yet he was not puffed up in his own.

He was low in his own eyes, and despised the praise of men. His whole conduct was without the least ostentation, and he was of great condescension to the weakest or meanest. Once or twice he complained to me of the pride of his heart: I (judging it to proceed rather from a holy jealousy of himself, and a tenderness of the least spark of that evil, than from any power it had upon him) replied to him, as I remember, to this purpose: If he had a proud heart, he had it to himself; for none else could perceive it. But he answered, "Some men that are proud enough have more wit than to let every one know it." Another time, making the same complaint in a letter to me, he added this: "But my naughty heart, while I am writing this, is in hope you will not believe me." So watchful was he as to espy and check the least motions of that sin which he so much abhorred.

As a minister. He was settled in Taunton Magdalen, as an assistant to the reverend pastor there; with whom, as a son with the father, he served in the gospel. I shall say nothing here, there being a large account given under the hand of that worthy person.

But besides his labours in that great congregation, in which alone he was fixed, the care for many other congregations was daily upon him. He went forth frequently into several places about the country, among the poor ignorant people that lived in dark corners, and had none to take care of them; and both preached

to them himself, and stirred up many of his brethren, whose forward minds readily joined with him, to set up standing lectures among them. He had an eye to poor Wales; and had an influence upon the sending over some ministers to them. He resolved also to go and spend some time among them himself; and by all the dissuasions of his friends, from his great weakness and unfitness for travel, he was hardly withheld from his purpose.

CHAPTER III.

BY MR. GEORGE NEWTON, THE REVEREND PASTOR WHOSE ASSISTANT HE WAS.

Mr. Joseph Alleine came to my assistance in the year 1655, being then in the one and twentieth year of his age; and we continued together with much mutual satisfaction.

I soon observed him to be a young man of singular accomplishments, natural and acquired: his intellectuals solid, his memory strong, his affections lively, his learning much beyond the ordinary size; and above all, his holiness eminent, his conversation exemplary: in brief, he had a good head, and a better heart.

He spent a considerable part of his time in private converse with God and his own soul: he delighted very much to perform his secret devotions in the view of heaven, and the open

air, when he could find advantages fit for his purpose. He used to keep many days alone; and then a private room would not content him, but if he could he would withdraw himself to a solitary house that had no inhabitant in it: and herein he was gratified often by some private friends of his, to whom he did not impart his design. Perhaps it was that he might freely use his voice as his affections led him, without such prudential considerations and restraints as would have been necessary in another place; and that he might converse with God without any avocation or distraction.

His conversation with others was always mingled with heavenly and holy discourses. He was ready to instruct, to exhort, and to reprove, which he never failed to do, when he thought it necessary, whatever the event might be. But he performed this usually with such respect, humility, tenderness, self-condemnation, and compassion, that a reproof from him seldom miscarried.

In the houses where he sojourned, their hands fed one, but his lips fed many. God freely poured grace into his lips; and he freely poured it out. None could live quietly in any visible and open sin under his inspection. When he came to any house to take up his abode there, he brought salvation with him; when he departed, he left salvation behind him. His manner was, when he was ready to depart, and to transplant himself into some other family, (as that the exigence of his condition

and the time did more than once constrain him to,) to call the people one by one into his chamber; from whence it was observed that scarcely any one returned with dry eyes.

In matters of religion and the first table, his strictness was so exemplary (which was near to rigour) that I have scarcely known any of his years keep pace with him. Surely he did more than others. His righteousness exceeded, not the publican only, but the Pharisees too. He was much taken with Monsieur de Renty, (whose life he read often,) and imitated some of his severities upon better grounds. How often have I heard him to admire (among many other things) especially his self-annihilation, striving continually to be nothing, that God might be all!

But here he stayeth not; he was a second-table man, a man of morals: I never knew him spotted in the least degree with any unjust or uncharitable act. And I am sure the many failings of professors in this kind touched him to the very quick, and brought him low, drew prayers, tears, complaints, and lamentations, both by word and letter, from him; though the Lord would not permit him to behold and reap the fruit before he died.

He had an eminently free and bountiful heart according to his power; and I may truly say, beyond his power: yea, much beyond it, he was willing of himself. It is but seldom that the best need restraint in these matters; and yet we read of some who brought more than

enough, yea, much more than enough, (Exod. xxxvi, 5,) so that there was a proclamation issued, to put a stop upon their bounty; and it is added presently, "So the people were restrained." Men universally almost need a spur; but he did rather need a bridle. When other men gave little out of much, he gave much out of little; and while they heaped and gathered up, he dispersed and scattered abroad. He did not hide himself from his own flesh, but was helpful to his relations, as some of them have great reason to acknowledge. His charity began at home, but it did not end there; for he did good to all, (according to his opportunities,) though especially to the household of faith. He considered the poor; he studied their condition; he devised liberal things; he was full of holy projects for the advancement of the good of others, both spiritual and temporal; which he pursued with such irresistible vigour, and zeal, and activity, that they seldom proved abortive.

He was a man of extraordinary condescension to the infirmities of weaker brethren; as they that are most holy, and best acquainted with themselves, are wont to be: "instructing those that were contrary-minded in meekness; if God peradventure would give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth: restoring those who were overtaken with a fault, in the spirit of meekness:" so dealing with them in such a loving, sweet, and humble way, as considering himself, lest he also might be tempted. In their confessed failings, he was

no way supercilious, captious, and censorious; he would maintain a good opinion of another, upon a narrower footing than many others, who (to say no more) were nothing stricter, holier, humbler, than himself would be. His charity believed all things that were to be believed, and hoped all things that were to be hoped. And when he deeply condemned the action, he would not judge of the estate. Indeed he had more charity for others than himself; and though he was sufficiently mild in his judgment of others, he was severe enough in his judgment of himself.

He was not peremptory in matters that belong to doubtful disputations. He laid no more weight and stress on notions and opinions in religion, that wholly depend upon topical arguments, than belongs to them. He was not like many, who are so over-confident in their determinations that they will hardly hold communion, nay, scarcely so much as a pleading conversation, with any man (how gracious soever) who cannot think, and say, and act in every thing as they do. He would allow his fellow-members the latitude that the apostle doth; and so would freely and familiarly converse with those who are sound in the faith, as to the fundamentals of religion, and who were strict and holy in their lives, of all persuasions.

His ministerial studies were more than usually easy to him, being of a quick conceit, a ready, strong, and faithful memory, a free expression, (which was rather nervous and sub-

stantial than soft and delicate,) and, which was best of all, a holy heart that boiled up with good matter. This furnished him on all occasions, not with warm affections only, but with holy notions too. For his heart was an epistle, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God: and out of this epistle, he drew many excellent things. In the course of his ministry he was a good man, and in his heart a good treasure; whence he was wont continually to bring forth good things, both in public and private.

He was apt to preach and pray; most ready on all occasions to lay out himself upon such work; yea, spending himself in it. When my sudden distemper seizing upon me, put him at any time (as many times it did) upon very short and sudden preparations, he never refused; no, nor so much as fluctuated in the undertaking. But, being called, he confidently cast himself upon the Lord, and trusted perfectly to his assistance, who had never failed him; and so he readily and freely went about his work without distraction.

He began upon a very considerable stock of learning, and gifts ministerial and personal, much beyond the proportion of his years; and grew exceedingly in his abilities and graces, in a little time: so that his profiting appeared to all men. He waxed very rich in heavenly treasure, by the blessing of God on a diligent hand; so that he was behind in no good gift. He found that precious promise sensibly made good: "To him

that hath" (for use and good employment) "shall be given, and he shall have abundance." He had no talent for the napkin, but all for traffic; which he laid out so freely for his master's use, that in a little time they multiplied so fast, that the napkin could not hold them. I heard a worthy minister say of him once, (not without much admiration,) "Whence hath this man these things?" He understood whence he had them well enough, and so did I; even from above, whence every good and perfect gift proceedeth. God blessed him in all spiritual blessings in heavenly things; and he returned all to heaven again. He served God with all his might, and all his strength; he was abundant in the work of the Lord; he did not go, but run, the ways of his commandments. He made haste and lingered not; he did run, and was not weary; he did walk, and was not faint. He pressed hard toward the mark, till he attained it. His race was short and swift, and his end glorious.

He was infinitely and insatiably greedy of the conversion of souls, wherein he had no small success in the time of his ministry. To this end, he poured out his very heart in prayer and in preaching. He imparted not the gospel only, but his own soul. His supplications and his exhortations many times were so affectionate, so full of holy zeal, life, and vigour, that they quite overcame his hearers. He melted over them, so that he thawed and mollified, and sometimes dissolved, the hardest hearts. But

while he melted thus he wasted, and at last consumed himself.

He was not satisfied to spend himself in public, but used constantly to go from house to house, and there to deal, particularly where he had a free reception, both with the governors, the children, and the servants of the household; instructing them especially in the great fundamental necessary truths of the law and of the gospel, where he observed them to be ignorant; gently reproving them where he found any thing amiss among them; exhorting them to diligence, both in their general and particular callings; entreating them who were defective, by any means to set up the worship of God in their houses, and to make them little churches, by constant reading of the Scripture, that so the word of Christ might dwell among and in them richly; by careful catechising of the children and the servants, if the governors were able; by frequent meditations, conferences, repetitions of that which they had heard in public; especially by daily prayer, morning and evening; that so they might avoid that dreadful indignation which hangs over, and is ready to be poured out upon, the families that call not upon God. He made the best inspection that he could into the state of every particular person, and so accordingly applied himself to check, to comfort, to encourage, as he found occasion. All which he did with so much tenderness, humility, and self-denial, that they gained very much on the affections and respects of all that received him,

and wrought them at least to outward conformity; so that they who were not visited in the beginning, at length came forth, and called upon him to come to their families and help them.

Thus did he wear himself away, and gave light and heat to others. He usually allowed himself too little sleep to recruit and to repair the spirits which he wasted with waking. His manner was to rise at four o'clock at the utmost, many times before, and that on cold winter mornings, that he might be with God betimes, and so get room for other studies and employments. His extraordinary watchings, constant cares, excessive labours in the work of the ministry, public and private, were generally apprehended to be the cause of those distempers and decays, and at last that ill habit of body, whereof he died.

He was the gravest, strictest, most serious, and composed young man that I had ever yet the happiness to be acquainted with: and yet he was not rigid in his principles; his moderation was known to all men that knew him.

CHAPTER V.

When he catechised the greater sort in public, before he was silenced, his manner was to begin with prayer for a blessing upon that exercise: and having proposed some questions

out of the Assembly's Catechism to them, he was careful not only to make them perfect in rehearsing the answers there set down, but also to bring them to a clear understanding of the meaning of the said answers, and of all the terms and phrases in which they are expressed; and to draw some practical, useful inferences from those heads of divinity contained in them. Moreover, when any distinction was necessary for the clearing up of the matter in hand, he would be also instructing his catechumens therein. Now this he would do by proposing several other collateral questions, besides those in the catechism; which questions, together with the answers to them, himself had before drawn up and sent to them in writing.

In the evening of the Lord's day, his course was to repeat his sermon again, in the public place of worship, where abundance of people constantly resorted to hear him; which when he had done, several youths were called forth, who gave him an account of the heads of all his sermon by memory.

As for his method in going from house to house, for the instructing of private families, it was this:—

He would give them notice of his coming the day before, desiring that he might have admittance to their houses, to converse with them about their soul-concerns, and that they would have their whole family together against he came. When he came, and the family were called together, he would instruct the younger

sort in the principles of religion, by asking several questions in the catechism; the answers to which he would open and explain to them. Also he would inquire of them about their spiritual estate and condition, labouring to make them sensible of the evil and danger of sin, the corruption and wickedness of our natures, the misery of an unconverted state; stirring them up to look after the true remedy proposed in the gospel, to turn from all their sins unto God, to close with Christ upon his own terms, to follow after holiness, to watch over their hearts and lives, to mortify their lusts, to redeem their time, to prepare for eternity. These things, as he would explain to their understandings, that they might have clear apprehensions about them, so he would press the practice of them upon their consciences, with the most cogent arguments and considerations, minding them of the great privileges they enjoyed, the many gospel sermons that they did or might hear, the many talents they were intrusted withal, and the great account they had to give to the God of heaven: telling them how sad it would be with them another day, if after all this they should come short of salvation. Besides, he would leave with them several counsels and directions to be carefully remembered and practised for the good of their souls. Those that were serious and religious, he would labour to help forward in holiness, by answering their doubts, resolving their cases, encouraging them under their difficulties. And before

he went from any family, he would deal with the heads of that family, and such others as were grown to years of discretion, singly and apart; that so he might (as much as possibly he could) come to know the condition of each particular person in his flock, and address himself in his discourse as might be suitable to every one of them. If he perceived that they lived in the neglect of family duties, he would exhort and press them to set up the worship of God in their families, as reading, prayer, and directing them how to set about it, and to take time for secret duties too. Such as were masters of families, he would earnestly persuade and desire, as they did tender the honour of Christ and the welfare of their children's and servants' souls, to let them have some time every day for such private duties, and to encourage them in the performance of them; neither would he leave them before he had a promise of them so to do. Sometimes also he would himself go to prayer before his departure. This was his method in the general; although with such necessary variation in his particular visits, as the various state and condition of the several families required. If the family where he came were ignorant, he would insist the longer instructing and catechising; if loose, in reproving and convincing; if godly, in encouraging and directing.

He used to spend five afternoons every week in such exercises, from one or two of the clock, until seven in the evening: in which space of

time he would visit sometimes three or four families in an afternoon, and sometimes more, according as they were greater or less. This course he would take throughout the town; and when he had gone through he would presently begin again, that he might visit every family as often as he could. He often blessed God for the great success that he had in these exercises, saying that God had made him as instrumental of good to souls in this way as by his public preaching, if not more. When the ministers of this county of Somerset, at one of their associations which heretofore they held, were debating whether and how far it was incumbent upon them to set up private family instruction in their particular charges, Mr. Alleine was the man that they pitched upon to draw up his reasons for that practice, together with a method for the more profitable management of it.

AN ABRIDGMENT OF WHAT HE DREW UP.

It being the unquestionable duty of all the ministers of the church of Christ "to take heed to all the flock over whom the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers;" and to teach and preach, not only publicly, but from house to house; not only taking a general care of the whole, or calling out the chiefest of the sheep for our particular care and inspection, as the manner of some is, and leaving the rest to sink or swim; but as good shepherds in inquiring into their estates, observing the particular marks, diseases, strayings of our sheep, and applying ourselves suita-

bly to their cases; in a word, warning every man, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus: therefore it behooveth us to study to do this great duty in such a manner as may be acceptable to God, and profitable to our flocks. The directions for performing this duty are either more general, or more special; for the more general directions, they are either such as concern the entrance on this duty, or the performance of it. For those that concern the entrance:—

I. It will be necessary, that we convince the people of the necessity of this duty.

II. That we study to manage this great work to our people's best advantage.

III. That we set apart such set times for this great work as, upon consideration, we shall find most convenient for them and us, resolving to be constant in observing them.

IV. That we pray for wisdom from above, what and how to speak.

V. That we send word to the people when we intend to visit them, that they may dispose of their business to receive us.

For those that concern us in the managing of the duty:—

I. The family being called together, we may, if time and conveniency permit, begin with prayer.

II. The family consisting of superiors and inferiors, it would not be amiss to begin with the inferiors; for many can hear their children and servants examined contentedly, that cannot

bear it themselves: for that they will not disdain to give an account of themselves before their superiors, though their superiors would disdain to give account before them: and here it will be necessary to inquire into their knowledge, practice, states.

1. Their knowledge. Here, (1.) We may examine what progress they have made in the principles of the doctrine of Christ, and try them in the catechism.

(2.) What they gain by the public ministry, what they remember of the sermon last heard.

2. Into their practice.

(1.) In their duty toward God; where it may be useful to inquire if they make conscience of secret prayer. The necessity of it may be expressed, the nature of it opened, and some heads of prayer explained; and if they be such as need it, it would be useful to commend to them some form, for the present help.

(2.) In the duties of their relation toward men, and if they be pressed to faithfulness, diligence, and uprightness, the duties they owe to those that were over them, it would be very convenient.

3. Into their states. And here we may take an account of them, what they think of the state of their souls, showing the paucity of them that are saved, the desperate deceitfulness of the heart, the infinite danger of being deceived, the wiles and devices of Satan to beguile them; from whence, and such like arguments, we may press them to be diligent in inquiring what

the case of their souls is, to be jealous of themselves: where we may take occasion to show them—

(1.) That every man by nature is in a damnable estate.

(2.) The absolute necessity of conversion.

(3.) By what signs they may know whether they remain in, or are delivered from, this estate: which signs should be few, plain, certain, and infallible, founded upon the clear evidence of the word: and because the searching work is so displeasing to the flesh, that it might disengage them to come too close at first, it may not be amiss to defer this, till we had got some interest in their hearts, by a loving, tender conduct.

III. The inferiors being thus dealt with, may be dismissed to their several employments; and then we may take occasion to discourse with the heads of the families, proceeding as prudence shall direct upon some of the forementioned particulars.

1. We may inquire whether they perform this great duty of prayer in the family; offering them helps if they need.

2. We may press them to instruct and catechise their families.

3. We may exhort them to the strict sanctifying of the Lord's day.

4. If they are poor, we may draw forth the hand of our bounty toward them.

5. If we know any evil by them, we may take them aside privately, showing them the sin-

fulness of their practice, and engaging them to promise reformation.

6. We should leave with them some few particulars of greatest weight, often repeating them till they remember them; engaging them to mind them till we shall converse with them again.

7. Our dealing with them must be in that manner that may most prevail and win upon their hearts.

(1.) With compassion; being kindly affectioned to them; charging, exhorting, comforting every one of them, as a father his children.

(2.) With prudence; warning and teaching them in all wisdom, applying ourselves to the several cases and capacities.

(i.) To the rich in this world, showing more respect as their places require, charging upon them those duties that are required of them in special.

(ii.) To the poor you may be more plain and free, pressing upon them those duties that are most proper to their condition.

(iii.) To the aged we must be more reverent, labouring to root out of them the love of the world, showing them the dangerousness of covetousness, and the necessity of making speedy preparation for eternity.

(iv.) The men are to be exhorted to temperance and sobriety, diligence in their callings, &c.

(v.) Women to meekness, humility, subjection to their husbands, and constant infusing good principles into their children.

(3.) With patience; being gentle to all men, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; bearing with their dulness, rudeness, and disrespectfulness; waiting for their repentance.

(4.) With all faithfulness; giving no occasion of offence, that our ministry be not blamed.

(5.) With zeal; as Apollos fervent in spirit, teaching diligently the things of the Lord.

(6.) With plainness; not betraying their souls to hell, and ours with them, for want of faithfulness and closeness in our dealing with them; it being not sufficient in general that no drunkard, &c., shall inherit the kingdom of heaven; but telling them plainly, and particularly, Such is your looseness, your ignorance, that I fear you are in an unconverted state.

(7.) With authority; dealing with them in the power and demonstration of the Spirit.

(8.) With humility; not lording it over God's heritage, but condescending to men of low estate; nor disdaining to go into the houses of the meanest.

The sort of directions are more special, respecting the several sorts of our people, who may be ranked into four heads; the ignorant, profane, formal, godly.

First, for the ignorant. Our work with them will be,—

1. To convince them that they are ignorant, which may be done by showing their inability to answer some plain familiar questions.

2. To show them the dangerous, yea, the damnable, nature of ignorance.

3. To press them, with all possible earnestness, to labour after knowledge.

4. To answer their carnal pleas for their ignorance, when wilful.

Secondly, for the profane. It would be necessary to deal with them convincingly, showing the certain damnation they are running upon.

Thirdly, for the formal. With these we must deal searchingly, and show them,—

1. How easily men may mistake the form of godliness for the power.

2. The danger of resting in being almost a Christian.

3. The most distinguishing differences between a hypocrite and a sincere Christian.

Fourthly, for the godly. To these we must draw forth the breasts of the promises, opening to them the riches and fulness of Christ, inquiring into their growth in grace, quickening them to be steadfast in the faith, patient in suffering, diligent in doing the will of Christ, zealous of good works, always abounding more and more.

There is one thing more, in which his self-denial, and other graces, were very exemplary; namely, his faithfulness in reproving the miscarriages of professors, sparing none, whether high or low, whether ministers or private Christians; yea, although they had been never so dear in his affections, and never so obliging in their carriage to him, yet if he found in them any thing that was reprovable and blameworthy,

he would deal with them faithfully and plainly about it, whatsoever the issue and event were.

One time when he was going about such a work, he said to a Christian friend, with whom he was very intimate and familiar, "Well, I am going about that which is likely to make a very dear and obliging friend to become an enemy. But, however, it cannot be omitted; it is better to lose man's favour than God's." But God was pleased (then, as well as divers other times, when he went about business of this nature) to order things for him better than he could have expected, and so to dispose of the heart of the person with whom he had to deal, that he was so far from becoming his enemy for his conscientious faithfulness to him, that he loved him the better ever after as long as he lived.

As to his judgment about the Arminian controversies, as far as I can perceive, who have discoursed with him about them, it was much-what the same with Doctor Davenant's and Mr. Baxter's.

He was a man of a very calm and peaceable spirit, one that loathed all tumultuous carriages and proceedings; he was far from having any other design in his preaching than the advancement of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, by the conversion and salvation of souls. This was the mark that he had in his eye; this was that for which he laboured, and ventured, and suffered, and for which he thought he could never lay out himself enough.

Though he were but a young man, yet in his carriage he was exceedingly serious and grave, and withal very humble, courteous, and affable, condescending to discourse with the poorest and meanest persons, for their spiritual good, as soon as with the greatest and richest.

And indeed so unblamable and convincing was he in the whole of his conversation, that there were very few religious and sober persons that knew him, either in town or country, either ministers or people, (yea, though some of them differing in judgment from him,) but did highly approve of him. And for his brethren in the ministry in these parts, such was his holy and discreet deportment among them, that he had as great an influence upon them as few others had.

He was full of holy projects, often bethinking himself by what ways and means he might more effectually promote the honour of Christ, and the benefit of souls; and whatsoever he apprehended to be conducing to these highest ends, he would prosecute with that wisdom and vigour, that he seldom failed of bringing it to a comfortable and successful issue.

Of his projects, one I shall here insert: Having considered how much the conscientious and frequent performance of the duty of self-examination might tend to the bringing down of sin, and furtherance of holiness, both in heart and life, he did earnestly press the duty on his hearers in his preaching, directing them in the performance; and not only so, but

dealt with them also in private about it, and got a promise from the most of them, that they would every night, before they took their rest, set about this duty; and spend some time in secret, on purpose to call themselves to an account, how they had acted that day, by proposing several questions to their own hearts; which questions he had referred to several heads, and drawn up for them in writing.

And not a few of them have acknowledged, that they have cause to bless God, who stirred him up to put them upon this practice, which they have found very helpful to them in their daily Christian walk.

USEFUL QUESTIONS, WHEREBY A CHRISTIAN MAY EVERY DAY EXAMINE HIMSELF.

"Commune with your hearts upon your beds," Psalm iv, 4.

Every evening before you sleep (unless you find some other time in the day more for your advantage in this work) sequester yourself from the world; and having set your heart in the presence of the Lord, charge it before God to answer to these interrogatories.

FOR YOUR DUTIES.

Q. 1. Did not God find me on my bed, when he looked for me on my knees? Job i, 5; Psalm v, 3.

Q. 2. Have not I prayed to no purpose, or suffered wandering thoughts to eat out my duties? Matt. xv, 8, 9; Jer. xii, 2.

Q. 3. Have not I neglected, or been very

careless in, the reading God's holy word? Deut. xvii, 19; Josh. i, 7, 8.

Q. 4. Have I digested the sermon I heard last? Have I repeated it over? and prayed it over? Luke ii, 19, 51; Psalm i, 2; cxix, 5, 11, 97.

Q. 5. Was there not more of custom and fashion in my family duties, than of conscience? Psalm ci, 2; Jer. xxx, 21.

Q. 6. Wherein have I denied myself this day for God? Luke ix, 23.

Q. 7. Have I redeemed my time from too long or needless visits, idle imaginations, fruitless discourse, unnecessary sleep, more than needs of the world? Ephes. v, 16; Col. iv, 5.

Q. 8. Have I done any thing more than ordinary for the church of God, in this time extraordinary? 2 Cor. xi, 28; Isa. lxii, 6.

Q. 9. Have I taken care of my company? Prov. xiii, 20; Psalm cxix, 63.

Q. 10. Have not I neglected, or done something against, the duties of my relations as a master, servant, husband, wife, parent, child, &c.? Ephes. v, 22; vi, 9; Col. iii, 18; iv, 2.

FOR YOUR SINS.

Q. 1. Doth not sin sit light? Psalm xxxviii, 4; Rom. vii, 24.

Q. 2. Am I a mourner for the sins of the land? Ezek. ix, 4; Jer. ix, 1–3.

Q. 3. Do I live in nothing that I know or fear to be a sin? Psalm cxix, 101, 104.

FOR YOUR HEART.

Q. 1. Have I been much in holy ejaculations? Neh. ii, 4, 5.

Q. 2. Hath not God been out of mind? heaven out of sight? Psalm xvi, 8; Jer. ii, 32; Phil. iii, 20.

Q. 3. Have I been often looking into mine own heart, and made conscience of vain thoughts? Prov. iv, 23; Psa. cxix, 113.

Q. 4. Have not I given way to the workings of pride or passion? 2 Chron. xxx, 26; James iv, 5–7.

FOR MY TONGUE.

Q. 1. Have I bridled my tongue, and forced it in? James i, 26; iii, 2–4; Psa. xxxix, 1.

Q. 2. Have I spoken evil of no man? Titus iii, 2; James iv, 11.

Q. 3. Hath the law of the Lord been in my mouth as I sat in my house, went by the way, was lying down, and rising up? Deut. vi, 6, 7.

Q. 4. Have I come into no company where I have not dropped something of God, and left some good savour behind? Col. iv, 6; Eph. iv, 29.

FOR YOUR TABLE.

Q. 1. Did not I sit down with a higher end than a beast, merely to please my appetite? Did I eat, drink, for the glory of God? 1 Cor. x, 31.

Q. 2. Was not mine appetite too hard for me? Jude 12; 2 Peter i, 6.

Q. 3. Did not I arise from the table without dropping any thing of God there? Luke vii, 36, &c.; xiv, 1, &c.; John vi.

Q. 4. Did not I mock with God when I pretended to crave a blessing, and return thanks? Acts xxvii, 35, 36; Matt. xv, 36; Col. iii, 17, 23.

FOR YOUR CALLING.

Q. 1. Have I been diligent in the duties of my calling? Eccles. ix; 1 Cor. vii, 17, 20, 24.

Q. 2. Have I defrauded no man? 1 Thess. iv, 6; 1 Cor. vi, 8.

Q. 3. Have I dropped never a lie in my shop or trade? Prov. xxi, 6; Eph. iv, 25.

Q. 4. Did not I rashly make, nor falsely break, some promise? Psa. cvi, 33; Josh. ix, 14, &c.; Psa. xv, 4.

SOME BRIEF DIRECTIONS FOR THE MORNING.

Direct. 1. If through necessity or carelessness you have omitted the reading and weighing of these questions in the evening, be sure to do it now.

D. 2. Ask yourself, What sin have I committed? What duty have I omitted? Against which of these rules have I offended, in the day foregoing? and renew your repentance, and double your watch.

D. 3. Examine whether God were last in your thoughts when you went to sleep, and first when you awoke.

D. 4. Inquire whether your care for your heart and ways doth increase upon your constant

using of this course for self-examination, or whether it doth abate, and you grow more remiss.

D. 5. Impose a task of some good meditations upon yourselves, while you are making ready either to go over these rules in your thoughts, or the heads of some sermon you heard last, or the holy meditations for this purpose in "The Practice of Piety," or Scuder's "Daily Walk."

D. 6. Set your ends right for all that day.

D. 7. Set your watch especially against those sins and temptations that you are likely to be most incident to that day.

CHAPTER VI.

BY HIS WIDOW, MRS. THEODOSIA ALLEINE.

Before the Act for Uniformity came forth, my husband was very earnest day and night with God, that his way might be made plain to him, that he might not desist from such advantages of saving souls, with any scruple upon his spirit; in which, when he saw those clauses of assent and consent, and renouncing the covenant, he was fully satisfied. But he seemed so moderate before, that both myself and others thought he would have conformed; he often saying, that he would not leave his work for small and dubious matters. But seeing his way so plain for quitting the public station that he

held, and being thoroughly persuaded of this, that the ejection of the ministers out of their places did not disoblige them from preaching the gospel, he presently took up a firm resolution to go on with his work in private, both of preaching and visiting from house to house, till he should be carried to prison or banishment, which he counted upon, the Lord assisting him. And this resolution, without delay, he prosecuted; for the Thursday after he appointed a solemn day of humiliation, when he preached to as many as would adventure themselves with him at our own house. But it being then a strange thing to the most professors to suffer, they seemed much affrighted at the threatenings of adversaries; so that there was not such an appearance at such opportunities as my husband expected: whereupon he made it his work to converse much with those he perceived to be most timorous, and to satisfy the scruples that were on many among us; so that the Lord was pleased in a short time to give him such success that his own people waxed bold for the Lord and his gospel; and multitudes flocked into the meetings, at whatsoever season they were, either by day or night; which was a great encouragement to my husband, that he went on with much vigour and affection in his work, both of preaching, and visiting and catechising from house to house.

He went also frequently into the villages and places about the towns where their ministers were gone, as most of them did fly, or at the

least desist for a considerable time after Bartholomew day. Wherever he went, the Lord was pleased to give him great success; many were converted; and the generality of those were animated to cleave to the Lord and his ways.

By this the justices' rage was much heightened against him, and he was often threatened and sought for; but by the power of God, whose work he was delighted in, he was preserved much longer out of their hands than he expected; for he would often say, that if it pleased the Lord to grant him three months' liberty before he went to prison, he should account himself favoured by him, and should with more cheerfulness go, when he had done some work; at which time we sold off all our goods, preparing for a jail, or banishment, where he was desirous I should attend him, as I was willing to do, it always having been more grievous to me to think of being absent from him than to suffer with him.

He also resolved, when they would suffer him no longer to stay in England, he would go to China, or some remote part of the world, and publish the gospel there.

It pleased the Lord to indulge him, that he went on in his work from Bartholomew day till May 26th after. Though often threatened, yet he was never interrupted, though the people both of the town and country were grown so resolute that they came in great multitudes, at whatever season the meeting was appointed, very seldom missing twice a Sabbath, and often

in the week. I know that he hath preached fourteen times in eight days, and ten often, and six or seven ordinarily in these months, at home and abroad, besides his frequent converse with souls; he then laying aside all other studies which he formerly so much delighted in, because he accounted his time would be but short. And the Lord (as he often told me) made his work in his ministry far more easy to him, by the supplies of his Spirit, both in gifts and grace, as did evidently appear both in his doctrine and life; he appearing to be more spiritual, and heavenly, and affectionate than before, to all that heard him, or conversed with him.

He was, upon a Saturday evening, about six o'clock, seized on by an officer of our town, who had rather been otherwise employed, as he hath often said; but that he was forced to a speedy execution of the warrant, by a justice's clerk, who was sent on purpose with it to see it executed, because he feared that none of the town would have done it.

The warrant was in the name of three justices, to summon him to appear forthwith at one of their houses, which was about two miles from the town; but he desired liberty to stay and sup with his family first, supposing his entertainment there would be such as would require some refreshment. This would not be granted, till one of the chief of the town was bound for his speedy appearance. His supper being prepared, he sat down, eating very heartily, and was very cheerful, but full of holy and gracious

expressions, suitable to his and our present state. After supper, having prayed with us, he with the officer, and two or three friends accompanying him, repaired to the justice's house, where they lay to his charge, that he had broken the Act of Uniformity by his preaching; which he denied, saying, that he had preached neither in any church, nor chapel, nor place of public worship, since the 24th of August; and what he did was in his own family, with those others that came there to hear him.

Here, as elsewhere, he was a careful redeemer of his time; his constant practice was, early to begin the day with God, rising about four o'clock, and spending a considerable part of the morning in meditation and prayer, and then falling close to his study, in some corner or other of the prison, where he could be private. At times, he would spend nearly the whole night in these exercises, not putting off his clothes at all, only taking the repose of an hour or two in his night-gown upon the bed, and so rising up again. When any came to visit him, he did not entertain them with needless, impertinent discourse, but that which was serious, profitable, and edifying; in which he was careful to apply himself to them, according to their several capacities, whether elder or younger; exhorting them to those gracious practices which, by reason of their age or temper, calling or condition, he apprehended they might be most defective in, and dehorting them from those evils they might be most prone and liable unto. He rejoiced that

he was accounted worthy to suffer for the work of Christ; and he would labour to encourage the timorous and faint-hearted, by his own and others' experience of the mercy and goodness of God in prison, which was far beyond what they could have thought or expected. He was a careful observer of that rule of the Lord Jesus, Matt. v, 44: "Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you." It was none of his practice to exclaim against those that were the greatest instruments of his sufferings.

In all his imprisonment, at present, I could not discern his health to be the least impaired, notwithstanding his abundant labours; yet cannot but suspect, as the physicians judged, that he had laid the foundation for that weakness which suddenly after surprised him, and was his death.

At his return from the prison, he was far more earnest in his work than before; yet willing to preserve his liberty among his people, who had no minister that had the oversight of them, though some came and preached while he was absent. And the people flocked so greatly after him, that he judged it best to divide the company into four, and resolved to preach four times each Sabbath to them. But finding sensibly that would be too hard for him, his strength much decaying, he forbore that course, and preached only twice a Sabbath, as formerly, and often on week-days at home and in the country; and spent what time he had else from

his studying, in private converse with God, as formerly he had done; pressing all that feared the Lord, especially those that were of a more weak and timorous spirit, to a life of courage and activity for God, and to be much in helping one another by their converses, now that ministers were withdrawn; and to be much in the work of praise and thanksgiving to God, rejoicing and delighting themselves in him; and with cheerfulness and readiness denying themselves for him, and resigning themselves and all that they enjoyed to him; letting the world know that they could live comfortably on God alone, on his attributes and promises, though they should have nothing else left.

But it pleased the all-wise God to take him off from the eager pursuit of his work and designs for him, by visiting him in the latter end of August with much weakness, so that he had not above three months' time after he came out of prison. Going about sixteen miles, at the request of a society whose pastor was not able to come among them to preach, and to administer a more solemn ordinance, he was so disabled that he was not able to perform the great and chief work, though he adventured to preach, but with much injury to himself, because he would not wholly disappoint the people, who came so far as many of them did. With much difficulty, after three or four days, I made way to get him home to Taunton, where we then sojourned, and presently had the best advice that the most able physicians, both in and around the

town, could give; who advised together, and all judged it to be from his abundant labours, and the preaching too soon after his meals, as he did when he preached four times a Sabbath, whereby he had so abated the natural heat of his stomach, that no food would digest, nor oftentimes keep within him. He would assure us, he was in no pain, but a constant discomposure in his stomach, and a failing of his appetite; that he could not for many weeks bear the smell of any flesh-meat, nor retain any liquors or broths; so that he consumed so fast that his life seemed to draw to an end. But the Lord did so bless the means, that he recovered out of this distemper, after two months' time; but so lost the use of his arms from October till April, that he could not put off nor on his clothes, nor often write either his notes or any letters; but I wrote for him, as he dictated to me. He was by all physicians, and by my earnest beseechings, often dissuaded from preaching, but would not be prevailed with, but did go on once, and sometimes twice a Sabbath, and in his private visiting, all that winter. In the spring the use of his arms returned, for which he was exceedingly thankful to the Lord; and we had great hopes of his recovering; and making use of farther remedies, he was able to go on with more freedom in his work. And the summer following, by the use of mineral waters in Wiltshire, near the Devizes, where he was born, his strength was much increased; he finding great and sensible good by them.

But he venturing too much on what he had obtained, his weakness returned frequently upon him the next winter, and more in the spring following, being seized as he was at the first. But it continued not long at a time, so that he preached often to his utmost strength, (nay, I may say, much beyond the strength he had,) both at home and abroad; going into some remote parts of the country, where had been no meetings kept all that time the ministers had been out, which was two years: and there he engaged several of his brethren to go and take their turns, which they did with great success.

He had also agreed with two of his brethren to go into Wales with them, to spread the gospel there; but was prevented in that, by his weakness increasing upon him. It was much that he did, but much more that he desired to do.

He was in this time much threatened, and warrants were often out for him; yet he was so far from being disturbed, that he rejoiced that when he could do but little for God, because of his distempers, God would so far honour him, that he should go and suffer for him in a prison. He would often with cheerfulness say, that they could not do him a greater kindness. But the Lord was yet pleased to preserve him from their rage, seeing him not then fit for the inconveniences of a prison.

The Five Mile Act coming in force, he removed to a place called Wellington, which is reckoned five miles from Taunton, to a dier's

house, in a very obscure place, where he preached on the Lord's days, as he was able. But the vigilant eyes of his old adversaries were so watchful over him that they soon found him out, and resolved to take him thence. They put a warrant into the constable's hand, to apprehend him; and sent for our friend, and threatened to send him to jail for entertaining such persons in his house. So my husband returned to the house of Mr. John Mallack, a merchant, who lived about a mile from Taunton, who had long solicited him to take his house for his home. We being in such an unsettled state, my husband thought it best to accept of his courteous offer: but many of his friends were willing to enjoy him in the town, and were so earnest, that he did, to satisfy them, go from one to another, staying a fortnight, or three weeks, or a month, at each house; but still took Mr. Mallack's for his home. This motion of his friends, he told me, (though it was troublesome for us to be so unsettled,) he was willing to embrace, because he knew not how soon he might be carried again from them to prison; and he should have opportunity to be more intimately acquainted with them, and the state of their souls, and of their children and servants, and how they perform their duties to each other in their families.

He went from no house without serious counsels, comforts, or reproofs, as their conditions called for; dealing with all that were capable, both governors and others, particularly acquaint-

ing them faithfully and most affectionately what he had seen amiss in any of them.

He went from no house that was willing to part with him; nor had he opportunity to answer the requests of half that invited us to their houses; so that he would often bless God, and say with holy Mr. Dod, that he had a hundred houses for one that he parted with. Though he had no goods, he wanted nothing. His Father cared for him in every thing; so that he lived a far more pleasant life than his enemies, who had turned him out of all. He was exceedingly taken with God's mercy to him, in Mr. Mallack's entertaining him and me so bountifully: the house, and gardens, and walks, were a very great delight to him, being so pleasant and curious, and all accommodations within suitable; so that he would often say, that he did, as Dives, fare deliciously every day: but he hoped he should improve it better than Dives did; that God had inclined him to take care for many poor, and for several of his brethren in the ministry; and now God did reward him, by not suffering him to be at the least expense for himself or me.

He was a very strict observer of all providences of every day, and did usually reckon them up to me before he went to sleep, each night after he came into his chamber and bed, to raise his own heart and mine to praise the Lord, and to trust him, whom we had such experience of from time to time.

The time of the year being come for his going

to the waters, he was desirous to set one day apart for thanksgiving to God for all his mercies to him and them, and so to take his leave of them.

Accordingly on July 10th, 1665, divers of his brethren in the ministry, and many of his friends of Taunton, met together to take their leave of him before his departure, at the house of Mr. Mallack, then living about a mile out of the town. After they had been a while together, came two justices, and several other persons attending them, brake open the doors by force, (though they might have unlatched them, if they had pleased.) and with swords came in among them. After much deriding and menacing language, which I shall not here relate, having taken their names, they committed them to the custody of some constables, whom they charged to bring them forth the next day, at the Castle Tavern, in Taunton, before the justices of the peace there. The next day the prisoners appeared, and answered to their names; and after two days' tedious attendance were all convicted of a conventicle, and sentenced to pay three pounds apiece, or be committed to prison threescore days. Of the persons thus convicted, but few either paid their fines, or suffered their friends to do it for them. My husband, with seven ministers more, and forty private persons, were committed to the prison of Ilchester. When he, together with the rest of his brethren and Christian friends, came to the prison, his carriage and conversation was every way as exemplary as in his former confinement. Not-

withstanding his weakness of body, he would constantly take his turn with the rest of the ministers, in preaching the gospel in the prison: which turns came about the oftener, though there were eight of them there together, because they had preaching and praying twice a day, almost every day they were in prison; besides other exercises of religion, in which he would take his part.

And although he had many of his flock confined in prison with him, by which means he had the fairer opportunity of instructing and watching over them, for their spiritual good; yet he was not forgetful of the rest that were left behind, but would frequently visit them also, by his letters, full of serious, profitable matter, from which they might reap no small benefit, while they were debarred of his bodily presence. And how greatly solicitous he was for those that were with him, (that they might be the better for their bonds, walking worthy of the many and great mercies they had enjoyed during their imprisonment; that when they came home to their houses, they might speak forth and live forth the praises of God, carrying themselves in every respect as becomes the gospel, for which they had been sufferers,) you may clearly see by those parting counsels that he gave them on the morning that they were delivered; which I shall recite in his own words, as they were taken from his mouth in short hand, by an intimate friend and fellow-prisoner, which you may take as followeth:—

MR. ALLEINE'S EXHORTATION TO HIS FELLOW-SUFFERERS, WHEN THEY WERE DISCHARGED FROM THEIR IMPRISONMENT.

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN :—My time is little, and my strength but small; yet I could not consent that you should pass without receiving some parting counsel; and what I have to say at parting shall be chiefly to you that are prisoners, and partly also to you our friends that are here met together. To you that are prisoners, I shall speak something by way of exhortation, and something by way of dehortation.

First: Rejoice with trembling in your prison-comforts, and see that you keep them in a thankful remembrance. Who can tell the mercies that you have received here? Neither my time nor strength will suffice me to recapitulate them. See that you rejoice in God; but rejoice with trembling. Do not think the account will be little for mercies, so many and so great. Receive these choice mercies with a trembling hand, for fear lest you should be found guilty of misimproving such precious benefits, and so wrath should be upon you from the Lord. Remember Hezekiah's case: great mercies did he receive; some praises he did return; but not according to the benefit done unto him: therefore was wrath upon him from the Lord, and upon all Judah for his sake, (2 Chron. xxxii, 25.) Therefore go away with a holy fear upon your hearts, lest you should forget tho loving-

kindness of the Lord, and should not render to him according to what you have received.

O, my brethren, stir up yourselves to render praises to the Lord. You are the people that God hath formed for his praise, and sent hither for his praise; and you should now go home, as so many trumpets, to sound forth the praises of God, when you come among your friends. There is an expression, Psalm lxviii, 11: "The Lord gave the word, great was the company of them that published it." So let it be said of the praises of God now, "Great was the company of them that published them." God hath sent a whole troop of you here together: let all these go home and sound the praises of God wherever you come; and this is the way to make his praise glorious indeed. Shall I tell you a story that I have read? There was a certain king that had a pleasant grove; and that he might make it every way delightful to him, he caused some birds to be caught, and to be kept up in cages, till they had learned sundry sweet and artificial tunes: and when they were perfect in their lessons, he let them abroad out of their cages into his grove, that while he was walking in his grove, he might hear them singing those pleasant tunes, and teaching them to other birds that were of a wilder note. Brethren, this king is God; this grove is his church; these birds are yourselves; this cage is the prison. God hath sent you hither, that you should learn the sweet and pleasant notes of his praise; and I trust that you have learned some-

thing all this while: God forbid else! Now God opens the cage, and lets you forth into the grove of his church, that you may sing forth his praises, and that others may learn of you. Forget not, therefore, the songs of the house of your pilgrimage; do not return to your wild notes again; keep the mercy of God for ever in a thankful remembrance; and make mention of them humbly as long as you live. Then shall you answer the end for which he sent you hither. I trust you will not forget this place. When Queen Mary died she said, that if they did open her body, they should find Calais on her heart. I hope that men shall find by you hereafter that the prison is upon your heart; Ilchester is upon your heart.

Secondly: Feed and feast your faith on prison experience. Do not think that God hath done this only for your present supply. Brethren, God hath provided for you, not only for your present supply in prison, but to lay up, for all your lives, that experience that your faith must live upon, till faith be turned into vision. Learn dependance upon God, by all the experiences that you have had here. "Because thou hast been my help," saith the psalmist, "therefore under the shadow of thy wing will I rejoice." Are you at a loss at any time? Then remember your bonds. We read in Scripture of a time when there was no smith in all Israel; and the Israelites were fain to carry their goads, and other instruments, to be sharpened, down to the Philistines. So when your spirits are

low, and when your faith is dull, carry them to the prison to be sharpened and quickened. O how hath the Lord confuted all our fears! cared for all our necessities? The faith of some of you was sorely put to it for corporal necessities. You came hither, not having any thing considerable to pay for your charges here; but God took care for that. And you left poor miserable families at home; and no doubt but many troublesome thoughts were in your minds, what your families should do for bread; but God hath provided for them.

We that are ministers left poor starving flocks, and we thought that the country had been now stripped; and yet God hath provided for them. Thus hath the Lord been pleased to furnish us with arguments for our faith, against we come to the next distress. Though you should be called forth to leave your flocks destitute, you that are my brethren in the ministry, and others their families destitute, yet doubt not but God will provide. Remember your bonds upon all occasions. Whensoever you are in distress, remember your old friend, remember your tried friend.

Thirdly: Let divine mercy be as oil to the flame of your love. "O love the Lord, all ye his saints!" Brethren, this is the language of all God's dealings with you. They all call upon you to love the Lord your God with all your hearts, with all your souls, with all your strength. What hath God been doing ever since you came to this prison? All that he

hath been doing since you came hither hath been to pour oil into the flames of your love, thereby to increase and heighten them. God hath lost all these mercies upon you, if you do not love him better than you did before. You have had supplies: to what purpose is it, unless you love God the more? If they that be in want love him better than you, it were better you had been in their case. You have had health here; but if they that be in sickness love God better than you, it were better you had been in sickness too. See that you love your Father, that hath been so tender of you. What hath God been doing, but pouring out his love upon you? How were we mistaken! We thought to have felt the strokes of his anger; but he hath stroked us as a father his children, with most dear affection. Who can utter his loving kindness? What, my brethren, shall we be worse than publicans? The publicans will love those that love them. Will not you return love for so much love? Far be this from you, brethren; you must not only exceed the publicans, but the Pharisees too: therefore, surely you must love him that loveth you. This is my business now, to bespeak your love to God, to unite your hearts to him. Blessed be God for this occasion! For my part I am unworthy of it. Now if I can get your hearts nearer to God than they were, then happy am I, and blessed are you. Fain I would that all these experiences should knit our hearts to God more, and endear us for ever to him. What, shall there

be so much bounty and kindness, and no returns of love? at least no farther returns? I may plead in the behalf of the Lord with you, as they did for the centurion: "He loveth our nation," say they, "and hath built us a synagogue." So I may say here, "He hath loved you, and poured out his bounty upon you." How many friendly visits have you had from those that you could but little expect! Whence do you think this came? It is God that hath the key of all these hearts. He caused them to pour forth kindness upon you. There is not a motion of love in the heart of a friend toward you, but it was God that put it in.

Fourthly: Keep your manna in a golden pot; and forget not him that hath said so often, "Remember me." You have had manna rained plentifully about you; be sure that something of it be kept. Do not forget all the sermons that you have heard here. O that you would labour to repeat them over, to live them over! You have had such a stock that you may live upon, and your friends too, (if you be communicative,) a great while together. If any thing have been wanting, time for the digesting hath been wanting. See that you meditate upon what you have heard; and that you especially remember the feasts of love. Do not you know who hath said to you so often, "Remember me?" How often have you heard that sweet word since you came hither? What! Do you think it is enough to remember him for an hour? No; but let it be a living and a lasting remem-

brance. Do not you write that name of his in the dust, that hath written your names upon his heart. Your High Priest hath your names upon his heart, and therewith has entered into the holy place; and keeps them there for a memorial before the Lord continually. O that his remembrance might be ever written upon your hearts, written as with the pen of a diamond upon tables of marble, that might never be worn out! that, as Aristotle saith of the curious fabric of Minerva, he had so ordered the fabric that his name was written in the midst; and if any went to take that out, the whole fabric was dissolved: so the name of Jesus should be written upon the substance of your souls, that they should pull all asunder before they should be able to pull it out.

Fifthly: Let the bonds of your affliction strengthen the bonds of your affection. Brethren, God hath sent us hither to teach us, among other things, the better to love one another. Love is lovely, both in the sight of God and men; and if by your imprisonment you have profited in love, then you have made an acceptable proficiency. O brethren, look within. Are you not more endeared one to another? I bless the Lord for that union and peace that have been ever among you; but you must be sensible that we come very far short of the love that we owe one to another. We have not that love, that endearedness, that tenderness, that complacency, that compassion toward each other, that we ought to have. Ministers should

be more endeared one to another, and Christians should be more dear to each other, than they were before. We have eaten and drunk together, and lived on our Father's love in one family together; we have been joined together in one common cause. O let the remembrance of a prison, and of what hath passed here, especially those uniting feasts, engage you to love one another.

Sixthly: Let present indulgence fit you for future hardships. Beloved, God hath used you like favourites now, rather than like sufferers. What shall I say? I am at a loss, when I think of the tender indulgence, and the yearnings of the bowels, of our heavenly Father upon us. But, my brethren, do not look for such prisons again.

Affliction doth but now play and sport with you, rather than bite you; but do you look that affliction should hereafter fasten its teeth on you to purpose. And do you look that the hand that hath now gently stroked you may possibly buffet you, and put your faith hard to it, when you come to the next trial. Bless God for what you have found here; but prepare you: this is but the beginning, (shall I say, the beginning of sorrow? I cannot say so; for the Lord hath made it a place of rejoicing,) this is but the entrance of our affliction; but you must look, that when you are trained up to a better perfection, God will put your faith to harder exercise.

Seventhly: Cast up your accounts at your

return, and see whether you have gone as much forward in your souls as you have gone backward in your estates. I cannot be insensible but some of you are here to very great disadvantage as to your affairs in the world, having left your business so at home in your shops, trades, and callings, that it is likely to be no little detriment to you upon this account. But happy are ye, if you find at your return, that as much as your affairs are gone backward and behindhand, so much your souls have gone forward. If your souls go forward in grace by your sufferings, blessed be God that hath brought you to such a place as a prison is!

Eighthly: Let the snuffers of this prison make your light burn the brighter; and see that your discourse be the more savoury, serious, and spiritual for this present trial. O brethren! now the voice of the Lord is to you, as it is in the prophet, Isaiah lx, 1: "Arise and shine;" now "let your light shine before men, that others may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." It is said of those preachers beyond sea that have been sent into England, and here reaped the benefit of our English practical divinity, at their return they have preached so much better than they had wont to do, that it hath been said of them, *Apparuit hunc fuisse in Angliâ.* So do you, my brethren, live so much better than you had wont, that when men shall see the change in your lives, they may say of you, *Apparuit hunc fuisse in custodiâ.* See that your whole course be

more spiritual and heavenly than ever. See that you shine in your families when you come home: be you better husbands, better masters, better fathers; study to do more than you have done this way, and to approve yourselves better in your family relations than you did before; that the savour of a prison may be upon you in all companies; then will you praise and please the Lord.

Ninthly: See that you walk accurately, as those that have the eyes of God, angels, and men upon you. My brethren, you will be looked upon now with very curious eyes. God doth expect more of you than ever; for he hath done more for you, and he looketh what fruit there will be of all this. O may there be a sensible change upon your souls, by the showers that have fallen in prison, as there is in the greenness of the earth, by the showers that have fallen lately abroad!

I have also these four things to leave with you:

First: Revile not your persecutors, but bless them, and pray for them, as the instruments of conveying great mercies to you. Do not you so far forget the rule of Christ, as when you come home to be setting your mouths to talk against those that have injured you. Remember the command of your Lord, "Bless them that curse you; pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you." Whatsoever they intended, they have been instruments of a great deal of mercy to us; and so we should pray for them,

and bless God for the good we have received by them.

Secondly: Let not the humble acknowledgment of God's mercy degenerate into proud, vain-glorious boasting, or carnal triumph. I beseech you, see that you go home with a great deal of fear upon your spirits in this respect, lest pride should get advantage of you; lest, instead of humble acknowledging of God's mercy, there should be carnal boasting. Beware of this, I earnestly beg of you; for this will very much spoil your sufferings, and be very displeasing in the sight of God. But let your acknowledging of his mercy be ever with humble, self-abasing thankfulness; and be careful that you do not make his mercies to be the fuel of your pride, which were to lose all at once.

Thirdly: Be not prodigal of your liberty, upon a conceit that the prisons will be easy; nor fearful of adventuring yourselves in the way of your duty. Alas! I am afraid of both these extremes, lest some among us, having found a great deal of mercy here, will now think there is no need of any Christian prudence, which is always necessary, and is a great duty. It is not cowardice to make use of the best means to preserve our liberty, not declining our duty. On the other side, there is fear lest some may be fearful, and ready to decline their duty, because they have newly tasted of a prison for it. Far be it from you to distrust God, of whom you have had so great experience; but be sure you hold on in your duty, whatsoever it cost you.

Fourthly: Do not load others with censures, whose judgment or practice differs from yours; but humbly bless God that hath so happily directed you. You know, all are not of the same mind as to the circumstances of suffering, and all have not gone the same way. Far be it from any of you, my brethren, that you should so far forget yourselves as to be unmerciful to your brethren; but bless God that hath directed you into a better way. Your charity must grow higher than ever. God forbid that you should increase in censures, instead of increasing in charity!

Having spoken to my fellow-prisoners, I have two words to speak to you, our friends and brethren with us.

First: Let our experience be your encouragement. O, love the Lord, ye our friends; love the Lord, fear him for ever; believe in him, trust in him for ever, for our sakes: we have tasted of the kindness of God.

You know how good God hath been to us in spirituals and in temporals. Encourage your hearts in the Lord your God; serve him the more freely and gladly for our sakes. You see we have tried, we have tasted how good the Lord is. Do you trust him the more, because we have tried him so much, and found him a friend so faithful, so gracious, that we are utterly unable to speak his praise. Go on and fear not in the way of your duty: "verily there is a reward for the righteous." God hath given us a great reward already; but this is but the least: we look for a kingdom.

Secondly: My desire is to our friends, that they will all help us in our praises. Our tongues are too little to speak forth the goodness and the grace of God: do you help us in our praises. Love the Lord the better, praise him the more; and what is wanting in us, let it be made good by you. O that the praises of God may sound abroad in the country by our means, and for our sakes!

He was prevented from going to the waters by his last imprisonment; for want of which, his distempers increased much upon him all the winter after, and the next spring more; yet not so as to take him fully off from his work, but he preached, and kept many days, and administered the sacrament frequently.

But going up to the waters in July, 1667, they had a contrary effect upon him from what they had at first. For after three days taking them, he fell into a fever, which seized on his spirits, and decayed his strength exceedingly, so that he seemed very near death. But the Lord then again revoked the sentence passed upon him, and enabled him in six weeks to return again to his people, where he much desired to be. But finding, at his return, great decay of his strength, and a weakness in all his limbs, he was willing to go to Dorchester, to advise farther with Dr. Lose, a very worthy and reverend physician, from whom he had received many medicines; but never conversed with him, nor had seen him, which he conceived might conduce more to his full cure.

The doctor, soon perceiving my husband's weakness, persuaded him to continue for a fortnight or three weeks there, that he might the better advise him, and alter his remedies, as he should see occasion; which motion was readily yielded unto by us.

But we had not been there above five days, before the use of all his limbs was taken away on a sudden; one day, his arms wholly failing, the next his legs, so that he could not go, nor stand, nor move a finger, nor turn in his bed, but as myself and another turned him night and day in a sheet. All means failing, he was given over by physicians and friends, that saw him lie some weeks in cold sweats night and day, and many times for some hours together, half his body cold; in our apprehensions, dying; receiving nothing but the best cordials that art can invent, and almond milk, or a little thin broth once in three or four days. Thus he lay from September 28th to November 16th, before he began to revive, or it could be discerned that remedies did at all prevail against his disease. In all this time he was still cheerful; and when he did speak, it was not at all complaining, but always praising and admiring God for his mercies. But his spirits were so low, that he spake seldom, and very softly. He still told us he had no pain at all; and when his friends admired his patience, he would say God had not yet tried him in any thing, but in laying him aside from his work, and keeping him out of heaven; but through grace he could submit to his plea-

sure, waiting for him. It was pain he ever feared, and that he had not yet felt, so tender was his Father of him, and he wanted strength (as he often told us) to speak more of his love, and to speak for God, who had been, and was still, so gracious to him. Being often asked by myself and others, how it was with his spirit in all this weakness, he would answer, that he had not those ravishing joys that he expected, and that some believers partake of, but he had a sweet serenity of heart, and confidence in God, grounded on the promises of the Gospel, and did believe it would be well with him to all eternity.

In all this time I never heard one impatient word from him, nor could upon my strictest observation discern the least discontent with this state: though he was a pitiful object to all that beheld him, being so consumed, besides the loss of the use of his limbs. Yet the Lord did support and quiet his spirit, that he lay as if he had endured nothing; breaking out often most affectionately in commending the kindness of the Lord to him, saying that goodness and mercy had followed him all his days.

And indeed the loving-kindness and care of God was singular to us in that place, which I cannot but mention to his praise.

We came strangers thither, and being in our inn, we found it very uncomfortable, yet were fearful to impose ourselves on any private house. But necessity enforcing, we did inquire for a chamber, but could not procure one; the small-

pox being very hot in most families; and those that had them not daily expecting them, and so could not spare rooms, as else they might. But the Lord, who saw our affliction, inclined the heart of a very good woman, (a minister's widow,) Mrs. Bartlet, to come and invite us to a lodging in her house; which we readily and thankfully accepted of; where we were so accommodated as we could not have been any where else in the town, especially in regard of the assistance I had from four young women who lived under the same roof, and so were ready, night and day, to help me; I having no servant nor friend near me: we being so unsettled, I kept none, but had always tended him myself to that time. The ministers and Christians of that place were very compassionate toward us, visiting and praying with and for us often; and Dr. Lose visited him twice a day for twelve or fourteen weeks, except when he was called out of town, refusing any fees that were tendered to him. The gentry in and about the town, and others, sent to us whatever they imagined might be pleasing to him, furnishing him with all delicates that might be grateful to one so weak; so that he wanted neither food nor physic, having not only for necessity, but for delight; and he did much delight himself in the consideration of the Lord's kindness to him in the love he received; and would often say, "I was a stranger, and mercy took me in; in prison, and it came to me; sick and weak, and it visited me." There were also ten young

women, besides the four in the house, that took their turns to watch with him constantly: for twelve weeks' space I never wanted one to help me. And the Lord was pleased to show his power so in strengthening me, that I was every night (all these weeks in the depth of winter) one that helped to turn him, never lying out of the bed one night from him, but every time he called or wanted any thing, was waking to assist her in the chamber; though, as some of them have said they did tell, that we did turn him more than forty times in a night; he seldom sleeping at all in the night in all those weeks. Though his tender affections were such as to have had me sometimes lain in another room, yet mine were such to him, that I could not bear it; the thoughts of it being worse to me than the trouble or disturbance he accounted I had with him; for I feared none would do any thing about him with such ease; neither would he suffer any one all the day to touch him but me, or to give him any thing that he received: by which I discerned that it was most grateful to him, and therefore so to me; and I never found any want of my rest, nor did get so much as a cold all that winter, though I do not remember that for fourteen or fifteen years before I could ever say I was one month free from a most violent cough, which if I had been molested with then would have been a great addition to his and my affliction. He was not a little taken with the goodness of God to me in the time of all his sickness, but espe-

cially that winter; for he being not able to help himself in the least, I could not be from him night nor day, with any comfort to him or myself.

In this condition he kept his bed till December 18th, and then, beyond all expectation, though in the depth of winter, he began to revive, and go out of his bed; but he could neither stand nor go, nor yet move a finger, having sense in all his limbs, but not the least motion. As his strength increased, he learned to go, (as he would say,) first by being led by two of us, then by one; and when he could go one turn in his chamber, though more weakly and with more fear than the weakest child that ever I saw, he was wonderfully taken with the Lord's mercy to him. By February he was able, with a little help, to walk in the streets; but not to feed himself, nor to go up or down stairs without much help.

When he was deprived of the use of his limbs, looking upon his arms, as I held him up by all the strength I had, he lifted up his eyes from his useless arms to heaven, and with a cheerful countenance said, "The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away; and blessed be the name of the Lord."

Being asked by a friend how he could be contented to lie so long under such weakness, he answered, "What! is not God my Father, Jesus Christ my Saviour, and the Spirit my Friend, my Comforter, and Sanctifier, and heaven my inheritance? Shall I not be content without

limbs and health? Through grace I am fully satisfied with my Father's pleasure."

To another that asked him the same, he answered, "I have chosen God, and he is become mine; and I know with whom I have trusted myself; which is enough. He is an unreasonable wretch that cannot be content with God, though he had nothing else. My interest in God is all my joy."

Some of his Taunton friends coming to Dorchester to see him, he was much revived, would be set up in his bed, and have all the curtains drawn. He then desired them to stand around the bed, and would have me take out his hand and hold it out to them, that they might shake him, though he could not them, as he used formerly to do, when he had been absent from them. As he was able, thus he spake to them: "O how it rejoices my heart to see your faces, and to hear your voices, though I cannot speak as heretofore to you! Methinks I am now like old Jacob, with all his sons about him. Now you see my weak estate: thus have I been for many weeks since I parted with Taunton; but God hath been with me, and I hope with you. Your prayers have been heard and answered for me many ways: the Lord return them into your own bosoms. My friends, life is mine, death is mine. In that covenant which I was preaching of to you is all my salvation and all my desire. Although my body do not prosper, I hope, through grace, my soul doth.

"I have lived a sweet life by the promises;

and I hope, through grace, that I can die by a promise. It is the promises of God, which are everlasting, that will stand by us. Nothing but God in them will support us in a day of affliction.

"My dear friends, I feel the power of those doctrines that I preached to you on my heart. Now the doctrines of faith, of repentance, of self-denial, of the covenant of grace, of contentment, and the rest; O that you would live them over, now that I cannot preach to you!

"It is a shame for a believer to be cast down under afflictions, when he hath so many glorious privileges, such as justification, adoption, sanctification, and eternal glory. We shall be as the angels of God in a little while. Nay, to say the truth, believers are, as it were, little angels already, that live in the power of faith. O my friends! live like believers; trample this world under your feet. Be not taken up with its comforts, nor disquieted with its crosses. You will be gone out of it shortly."

When they came to take leave of him, he would pray with them as his weak state would suffer him; and in the words of Moses, and of the apostles, he blessed them in the same manner that he always used to do after a sacrament. "The Lord bless you, and keep you; the Lord cause his face to shine upon you, and give you peace. And the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight

through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory, for ever and ever. Amen."

He then spake thus: "Farewell, farewell, my dear friends. Remember me to all Taunton. I beseech you and them, if I never see your faces more, to go home and live over what I have preached to you; and the Lord provide for you when I am gone. O let not all my labours and sufferings, let not my wasted strength, my useless limbs, rise up in judgment against you at the great day of the Lord."

Another time, some friends coming to visit him there, he spake thus to them: "O my friends, let your whole conversation be as becomes the gospel of Christ. Whether I am present or absent, live according to what I have spoken to you in the name of the Lord. Now that I cannot preach to you, let my wasted strength, my useless limbs, be a sermon to you. Behold me: I cannot move a finger. All this is come upon me for your sakes, and the gospel. It is for Christ and you that I have thus spent myself. I am afraid of you, lest some of you, after all that I have spoken to you, should be lost in the world. There are many professors who can pray well, and talk well, whom we shall find at the left hand of Christ another day. You have your trades, your estates, your relations: be not taken up with these, but with God. O live on him! For the Lord's sake, go home and take heed of the world, of worldly cares, worldly comforts, worldly friends.

"The Lord having given authority to his

ministers to bless his people, I accordingly bless you in his name." He used the same words, as before, and so parted with them; uttering many other expressions of his love to them and to the town.

And thus he used to converse with all that came to visit him, as he was able, looking always cheerfully upon them, and never complaining of any affliction that he was under, except it were to excite his Taunton friends to their several duties.

In February, being very desirous to return among his people, he proposed it to his doctor, who consented to it, fearing that the air might be too keen for him in March; and hoping that it might much conduce to his cure, to satisfy his mind.

In a horse-litter I removed him. He was much pleased at the sight of the place, and of his people, who came flocking about him; and he seemed to increase in strength, so that he was able to feed himself in a week after he came home But I, fearing that the frequent visits of his friends might be prejudicial to him, persuaded him to remove to Mr. Mallack's house, which he was again invited to, and where he was most courteously entertained.

Thus he continued increasing in strength, till the beginning of April, when he began to decline again; and was taken, after some days, with convulsive fits, as he sat in his chamber one afternoon, and had three or four more fits that night. But in the use of means, through God's

blessing, he had no more in three weeks. One evening, being in his chamber, he desired me to leave him awhile alone, which I was very unwilling to do, yet his importunity made me go down from him. But in less than half a quarter of an hour, he was fallen to the ground in one of his former fits, and had hurt his face. From his nose came much blood, which was clotted and corrupt. The physicians, seeing this, concluded (though it was grievous to me, that under such weakness, he should have so sad an accident) that the fall had saved his life. For had not that blood come from his head, he had, so far as they could rationally judge, died in that fit, which took away his senses for the present; but he went to bed and slept so well that night, as he had not done in many weeks before, that myself and friends feared that he was in an apoplexy. But he awoke about six in the morning, much refreshed, and full of the praises of God for his mercies to him; being very sensible how suddenly he was surprised the evening before. After this he lived always expecting death, saying often to me and his friends, "It is but a puff, and I am gone." He therefore would every night after he had been at prayer bid all the family farewell; telling them he might be dead before the morning; and, dropping some holy counsels to them, would depart to his chamber. All the while that I was undressing, he would be discoursing of spiritual things, it being his delight; and when he lay down to rest, his last words were usually,

"We shall shortly be in another bed; therefore it is good to mind it, and provide for it apace. Farewell, my dear heart; the Lord bless thee!" and so he would go to rest. In his health and sickness, his first speeches in the morning would be, "Now we have one day more; here is one more for God; now let us live well this day; work hard for our souls; lay up much treasure in heaven this day; for we have but a few to live."

After this the strength of his limbs, which were decayed, returned again; and he was, beyond all expectation, so far recovered that we had no fears of his relapsing again. His appetite and rest were repaired. But about the 6th of May he began again to find weakness in his stomach, which in a few days so grew upon him that he lost his limbs again; and on the 12th of May, in the morning, having lain some days and nights in cold sweats, as heretofore at Dorchester, he was again seized with convulsions; first lying four hours with his eyes fixed on heaven, not speaking one word, nor in the least moving himself; myself and friends weeping by him: at last he spake to us with a very audible voice, "Weep not for me, my work is done." He seemed to be full of matter, which he desired to utter to us, but was immediately seized with a terrible convulsion which was sad to behold. It so altered his countenance, and put him into such sweats, that it was strange to see how the drops lay and ran down his face, hands, and whole body. This held him two

hours or more, and then ceased; but he was left by it without any sense; and in a quarter of an hour, or a little more, he fell into another, in which he rattled, and was cold; so that we apprehended every breath would be his last. The physician, who was then by him, accounted his pulse to be gone, and that he would be dead in a few minutes. But the Lord showed his power once again in raising him up; so that many who came and saw him, and who heard the next day that he was alive, would not believe it till they came and saw him again. These violent fits went off about twelve o'clock, and he revived, but had no sense to converse with us till the next day; nor did he perfectly recover them for four days after. He then was as before, and so continued very weak till July, no strength coming into his hands or legs. For the most part he was confined to his bed; but was still cheerful in his spirit, and free to discourse with any that came to visit him as long as he was able.

The Lord had yet more work for him to do. Seeing him lie so hopeless, as to his life or limbs, and considering the winter was coming on apace, I proposed to the doctors to remove him to Bath: some were for it, others against it. Acquainting my husband with the subject, he was much pleased with it, and so earnest in it, that I sent immediately to Bath for a horse-litter; and the Lord was pleased strangely to appear in strengthening him for his journey; so that he that had not in many weeks been out

of his bed and chamber was able in two days to travel nearly forty miles. When he came to Bath, the doctors there seemed to be much amazed to behold such an object, professing that they never saw the like; much wondering how he was come alive such a journey, and doubted much whether or not they should put him into the water. But he having tried all artificial baths, and ointments, and plasters before, he resolved, against their judgment, to adventure himself.

At his first appearance in Bath, being wasted to skin and bone, some of the ladies were affrighted, as if death had come among them, and could not endure to look toward him.

The first time he went in, he was able to stay but a little while; but was much refreshed, and had no symptom of his fits, which he feared the bath might have caused again. Through the blessing of the Lord upon this means, without any thing else, except his drinking of goats' milk, he that was not able to go nor stand, nor move a finger, could in three weeks' time walk about his chamber, and feed himself. His impaired appetite was again restored; and his strength so increased, that there seemed no doubt to the physicians of his full recovery; he having not the least sign of any inclination to his fits, from the 12th of May till his death drew nigh.

In this time of his being in Bath, his soul was far more strengthened with grace; so that myself and all that beheld him, and conversed

with him, discerned sensibly his growth; and he was in the nights and days so frequently with God, and often in such ravishment of spirit, from the joys and consolation that he received from the Spirit of God, that it was often more than he could express, or his bodily strength could bear; so that, for my own part, I had less hopes of his continuance on earth than ever before. For I perceived plainly that the Lord had spared him but to recover strength of grace, and to make him a more evident instance of his singular love, before he took him hence.

He being now more cheerful than formerly, and more exceedingly affectionate in his conduct toward me, and to all his friends, especially with those that were most heavenly, the Lord was pleased to order it in his providence that there were many such then who came to use the bath; as Mr. Fairclough and his wife; Mr. Howe, of Torrington; Mr. Joseph Barnard and his wife; and several of our Taunton friends, and of Bristol ministers and others; which was a great comfort to us.

His mind seemed to be more quick in conversation, whatever he was put upon, either by scholars, or by those that were more inferior. He had many visiters there, both of strangers and friends, who were willing to see him, and discourse with him, having heard what a monument of mercy he was: and he would to all of them so expatiate upon all the passages of God's dealings with him, as was very pleasant to all that heard him; and did affect many that were

strangers to God, and to religion, as well as to him.

He found so much favour even among the worst, that both gentry and others (such as would make a scoff at religion, or holy discourse from others) would hearken to him. Though he did often faithfully reprove many for their oaths, and excess in drinking, and their lascivious conduct, which he observed in Bath; and there was none of them but did most thankfully accept it from him, and showed him more respect after, than they had done before. In this he observed much of God's goodness to him, and would often say to me, "O how good it is to be faithful to God!" The vilest of these persons, as I was by several informed, said to him that he never spake to such a man in his life.

His reproofs were managed with so much respect to their persons, and the honourable esteem he had of their dignity, that they said, they could not but accept his reproofs, though they were very close and plain. His way was, some time before he intended to reprove them, often in the bath to converse with them of things that might be taking with them; and he so engaged their affections that they would willingly every day converse with him: he being furnished (from his former studies) for any company, designing to use it still for holy ends. By such means he caught many souls.

While he was in this place, though he had many diversions, by his using the bath every day, and his frequent visits, besides his weak-

ness, he kept his constant seasons, four times a day, for holy retirement; waking in the morning constantly at or before five o'clock, and would not be disturbed till about seven, when he was carried to the bath. Having the curtains drawn close, he spent his time in holy meditation, and prayer, and singing; and once again before dinner; but then he spent less time; and about half an hour before two in the afternoon, just before he went abroad.

Though he never attained to so much strength as to be able to walk abroad in the streets without my leading him, or some other, yet he would be employed for his Lord and Master. His chairmen that used to carry him to the bath, he appointed to fetch him about three o'clock, who carried him to visit all the schools and almshouses, and the godly poor, especially the widows; to whom he would give money, and with whom he would pray, and converse with them concerning their spiritual state, according as their necessities required; engaging those that were teachers and governors to teach the Assembly's Catechism, buying many dozens, and giving them to distribute to their scholars; and many other small books which he thought might be useful for them; and then would come and see, in a week or fortnight, what progress they had made. He also engaged several to send their children once a week to him to be catechised; and we had about sixty or seventy children every Lord's day at our lodging; and they profited much by his instructions, till some took

such offence at it that he was forced to desist. The schoolmaster was threatened to be cited to Wells, before the bishop; and many others affrighted from it.

He also sent for all the godly poor he could find in that place, entertained them at his chamber, and gave to every one of them as he was able, as a thank-offering to the Lord for his mercy to him; and desired them, with several others, to keep a day of thanksgiving for him; Mr. Fairclough, Mr. Howe, and himself performing the duties of the day.

Thus though his sickness had been long, and his expenses great, he thought he could never spend enough for Him from whom he had received all. He constantly gave money or apples to all the children that came to be catechised by him, to engage them; besides all that he gave to the teachers, and poor, which indeed was beyond his ability, considering his estate. But I am persuaded, that he foresaw that his time would be short; and having made a competent provision for me, he resolved to lay up the rest in heaven. He often said to me, that if he lived never so long, he would not increase his estate, now that I was provided for; he having no children, God's children should have it.

But he was again designing what he should do before he took his leave of the world: and his next work was, to send letters to all his relations and intimate friends, in most of which he urged them to observe his counsels, for they

were likely to be his last to them. I always wrote for him; for he could not, by reason of his weakness, write a line.

At this time he had a great desire to go to Mr. Joseph Barnard's, which was about five miles from Bath, there to finish his last work for God that ever he did on earth; which was to promote the exercise of catechising in Somersetshire and Wiltshire. Mr. Barnard having had a great deliverance as well as himself, he proposed this to him as their thank-offering to God, which they would jointly tender to him. They had engaged one to another, to give so much for the printing of six thousand of the Assembly's Catechisms, and among other friends to raise some money to send to every minister that would engage in the work, and to give to the children for their encouragement in learning. This work was finished by Mr. Barnard, after my husband was gone to his rest.

Finding himself to decline again, he apprehended that it was for want of using the bath; he therefore desired to return; and I being fearful lest he should ride home, seeing some symptoms of his fits, sent for the horse-litter, and so carried him again to Bath: where, by the doctor's advice, after he had taken some things to prepare his body, he made use of the hot bath, (the cross-bath being then too cold,) and so he did for four days, and seemed to be refreshed. The strength that he had in his limbs appeared to recover, rather than abate; and two of his Taunton friends coming to see him, he was

cheerful with them. But on the 3d of November I discerned a great change in his countenance; and he found a great alteration in himself, but concealed it from me, as I heard after. For some friends coming to visit him, he desired them to pray for him, for his time was very short; but desired them not to tell me of it. All that day he would not permit me to move out of the chamber from him, except once while those friends were with him. After we had dined, he was in a more than ordinary manner transported with affection toward me; which he expressed, by returning me thanks for all my pains and care for him and with him, and offering up many most affectionate requests for me to God, before he would suffer me to rise as we sat together. At night again, at supper, before I could rise from him, he spake thus to me:—"Well now, my dear heart, my companion in all my tribulations and afflictions, I thank thee for all thy pains and labours for me, at home and abroad, in prison and liberty, in health and sickness;" reckoning up many places we had been in, in the days of our affliction. With several other most endearing and affectionate expressions, he concluded with many holy breathings to God for me, that he would requite me, and never forget me, and fill me with all manner of grace and consolations; that his face might still shine upon me, and that I might be supported and carried through all difficulties.

After this he desired me to see for a "Practice of Piety;" and I procuring one for him, he

turned his chair from me, that I might not see, and read the meditations about death in the latter end of that book; which I discerning, asked of him, whether he apprehended that his end was near: to which he replied, he knew not; in a few days I would see; and so fell into discourse, to divert me; desiring me to read two chapters to him, as I used to do every night; and so he hasted to bed, not being able to go to prayer. With his own hands he did very hastily undo his coat and doublet, which he had not done in many months before. As soon as he was in bed he told me that he felt some more than ordinary stoppage in his head; and I brought him something to prevent the fits, which I feared. But in a quarter of an hour after he fell into a very strong convulsion; which I being much affrighted at, called for help, and sent for the doctors. We used all former and other means, but no success the Lord was pleased to give then to any. The convulsions continued for two days and nights, not ceasing one hour.

It was most grievous to me, that I saw him so likely to depart, and that I should hear him speak no more to me; fearing that it would harden the wicked to see him removed by such a stroke: for his fits were most terrible to behold. I earnestly besought the Lord, that, if it were his pleasure, he would so far mitigate the heavy stroke which I saw was coming upon me, by causing him to utter something of his heart before he took him from me; which he graciously answered me in; for he that had not spoken

from Tuesday night, did, on Friday morning, about three o'clock, call for me to come to him, speaking very correctly at times all that day. On that night, about nine o'clock, he broke out with an audible voice, speaking for sixteen hours together, those and such like words as I formerly gave account of; and ceased but a very little space, now and then, all the afternoon, till about six on Saturday in the evening, when he departed.

About three in the afternoon he had, as we perceived, some conflict with Satan; for he uttered these words:—

"Away, thou foul fiend, thou enemy of all mankind, thou subtle sophister; art thou come now to molest me? now I am just going! now I am so weak, and death upon me! Trouble me not; for I am none of thine! I am the Lord's. Christ is mine, and I am his: his by covenant; I have sworn myself to be the Lord's, and his I will be. Therefore begone."

These last words he repeated often, which I took much notice of, that his covenanting with God was the means which he used to expel the devil and all his temptations.

During the time that we were in Bath I had very few hours alone with him, by reason of his constant using the bath, and the visits of friends from all parts thereabouts, and sometimes from Taunton; and when they were gone he would be either retiring to God, or to his rest. But what time I had with him, he always spent in heavenly and profitable discourse, speaking

much of the place he was going to, and his desires to be gone. One morning as I was dressing him, he looked up to heaven and smiled; and I urging him to know why, he answered me thus:—"Ah, my love, I was thinking of my marriage-day: it will be shortly. O what a joyful day will that be! Will it not, thinkest thou, my dear heart?"

Another time, bringing him some broth, he said, "Blessed be the Lord for these refreshments in the way home; but O how sweet will heaven be!"

Another time, "I hope to be shortly where I shall need no meat, nor drink, nor clothes."

When he looked on his weak consumed hands, he would say, "These shall be changed. This vile body shall be made like to Christ's glorious body.

"O what a glorious day will the day of the resurrection be! Methinks I see it by faith. How will the saints lift up their heads and rejoice; and how sadly will the wicked world look then!

"O come let us make haste; our Lord will come shortly; let us prepare.

"If we long to be in heaven, let us hasten with our work; for when that is done, away we shall be fetched.

"O this vain foolish world, I wonder how reasonable creatures can so dote upon it! What is in it worth the looking after? I care not to be in it longer than while my Master hath either doing or suffering work for me: were that done, farewell to earth."

He was much in commending the love of Christ, and from that exciting himself and me to obedience to him, often speaking of his sufferings and of his glory.

With his love-letters, as he called the holy history of our Lord's life, death, resurrection, ascension, and his second coming, he seemed always to be much ravished.

He would be frequently reckoning the choice tokens which Christ had sent him, and which I remember he would frequently reckon up; 1. The pardon of sin; 2. A patent for heaven: 3. The gift of the Spirit; 4. The robe of his righteousness; 5. The spoils of enemies; 6. The charter of all liberties and privileges; 7. The guard of his angels. The consideration of this last he frequently solaced himself in, saying to me often, when we lived alone in the prison, and divers other places, "Well, my dear, though we have not our attendants and servants, as the great ones and rich of the world have, we have the blessed angels of God still to wait upon us, to minister to us, and to watch over us while we are sleeping, to be with us when journeying, and still to preserve us from the rage of men and devils."

He was exceedingly affected with the three last chapters of St. John's gospel, especially Christ's parting words, and prayer for his disciples.

But it is time for me to set a stop to my pen. God poured into him, and he poured out so much, that it was scarcely possible to retain

the converse of one day, without a constant register. His heart, his lips, his life were filled with grace; in which he shone, both in health and sickness, prosperity and adversity, in prison and at liberty, in his own house and in the churches of Christ, wherever he came: I never heard any that conversed with him, but would acknowledge it was to their advantage.

At my husband's first coming to Taunton, he was entertained by Mr. Newton as a sojourner; and after he was ordained in Taunton, in a public association-meeting, he administered all ordinances jointly with him. Though he were but an assistant, Mr. Newton would have it so, who dearly loved him, and highly esteemed him; and seeing him restless in his spirit, and putting himself to many tedious journeys to visit me, (as he did once a fortnight twenty-five miles,) he persuaded him to marry, contrary to our purpose, we resolving to have lived much longer single. The 4th of October, 1655, after a year and two months' acquaintance, our marriage was celebrated.

We lived together with Mr. Newton nearly two years, where we were most courteously entertained: then hoping to be more useful in our station, we took a house; and I having been always bred to work, undertook to teach a school, and had many boarders and scholars, our family being seldom less than twenty, and many times thirty; my school usually consisting of fifty or sixty children of the town and other places. The Lord was pleased to bless us ex-

ceedingly in our endeavours; so that many were converted in a few years, that were before strangers to God. All our scholars called him "father:" and indeed he had far more care of them than most of their natural parents, and was most tenderly affectionate to them, especially to their souls.

His course in his family was prayer, and reading the Scriptures, and singing, twice a day, except when he catechised, which was constantly once, if not twice, a week. Of every chapter that was read he expected an account, and of every sermon, either to himself or me. He dealt with them and his servants frequently together, and apart, about their spiritual states, pressing them to all their duties, both of the first and second table, and calling them strictly to account, whether they did not omit them. He also gave them books suitable to their capacities and condition, which they gave a weekly account of to him or me; but too often by public work was he diverted, as I am apt to think, who knew not so well what was to be preferred.

His Lord's-days' work was great; for though he preached but once in his own place, yet he was either desired by some of his brethren to supply theirs on any exigency, or would go where there was no minister; and so was forced often to leave his family to me, to my great grief and loss. In his repetitions in public, as well as catechising, his own family came all in their turns, to answer in the congregation, both scholars and servants.

When I have pleaded with him for more of his time with myself and family, he would answer me, that his ministerial work would not permit him to be so constant as he would; for if he had ten bodies and souls, he could employ them all, in and about Taunton: and would say, "Ah, my dear! I know thy soul is safe. But how many that are perishing have I to look after! O that I could do more for them!"

He was a holy, heavenly, tenderly affectionate husband; and I know of nothing that I could complain of, but that he was so taken up that I could have but very little converse with him.

His love was expressed to me, in his great care for me, both sick and well; in his provision for me; in his delight in my company; saying often that he could not bear to be from me, but when he was with God, or employed for him; and that often it was hard for him to deny himself to be so long absent. It was irksome to him to make a meal without me; nor would he scarcely manage any affair without conversing with me; concealing nothing from me that was fit for me to know: being far from the temper of those husbands who hide all their concerns from their wives; which he could not endure to hear of, especially in good men.

He was a faithful reprover of any thing he saw amiss in me, which I took as a great evidence of his good will to my soul; and if in any thing he gave me offence, which was but seldom, so far would he deny himself as to acknowledge it, and desire me to pass it by, professing to me

he could never rest till he had done so; and the like I was ready to do to him, as there was far more reason; by which course, if any difference did arise, it was soon over with us.

He was a very tender master to his servants, every way expressing it to their souls and bodies, giving them that encouragement in their places which they could desire; expecting from his whole family that respect and obedience to his commands which their rule required; reproving them that were careless and negligent in observing them.

He was frequent in keeping solemn days of humiliation, especially against a sacrament.

He was a very strict observer of the Sabbath, the duties of which he performed with such joy and alacrity of spirit that it was most pleasant to join with him, both in public and in the family, when we could enjoy him. And this he much pressed upon Christians, to spend their Sabbaths more in praises and thanksgivings, as days of holy rejoicing in our Redeemer.

All the time of his health, he rose constantly at or before four o'clock; and on the Sabbaths sooner, if he awoke. He would be much troubled if he heard any smiths or shoemakers, or such tradesmen, at work at their trades, before he was in his duties with God; saying to me often, "O how this noise shames me! Doth not my Master deserve more than theirs?" From four till eight, he spent in prayer, holy contemplation, and singing of psalms, which he much delighted in, and daily practised alone, as well as

in his family. Having refreshed himself about half an hour, he would call to family duties, and after that to his studies, till eleven or twelve o'clock, arranging his work for every hour in the day. Having refreshed himself a while after dinner, he used to retire to his study to prayer, and so go abroad among the families he was to visit, to whom he always sent the day before; going out about two o'clock, and seldom returning till seven in the evening, sometimes later. He would often say, "Give me a Christian that counts his time more precious than gold." His work in his public ministry in Taunton being to preach but once on a Sabbath, and catechise, he devoted himself much to private work, and also catechised once a week in public besides, and repeated the sermon he preached on the Sabbath day on Tuesday in the evening.

He found much difficulty in going from house to house, because it had not been practised a long time by any minister in Taunton, nor by any others of his brethren; and he being but a young man, to be looked upon as singular, was that which called for much self-denial, which the Lord enabled him to exercise. For after he had preached in public the ministers' duty to their people, and theirs to receive them, when they came to them for their spiritual advantage, he set speedily upon the work.

In this work his course was, to draw a catalogue of the names of the families in each street, and to send a day or two before he intended to

visit them, that they might not be absent, and that he might understand who was willing to receive him. Those that sent slight excuses, or obstinately refused his message, he would notwithstanding visit; and if (as some would) they shut their doors against him, he would speak some few affectionate words to them; or, if he saw cause, denounce the threatenings of God against them that despise his ministers, and so departed. Afterward he would send affectionate letters to them, so full of love, and expressions of his great desires to do their souls good, as overcame their hearts; and many of them afterward readily received him into their houses. Herein was his compassion showed to all sorts, both poor and rich, not disdaining to go into such houses among the poor as were often very offensive to him to sit in, he being of an exact and curious temper: yet would he with joy and freedom deny himself for the good of their souls, and that he might fulfil his ministry among those of whom the Lord had given him the oversight.

I perceiving this work, with what he did otherwise, to be too hard for him, fearing often that he would bring himself to distempers and diseases, as he did soon after, besought him not to go so frequently; his answer would be, "What have I strength for, but to spend for God? What is a candle for, but to be burned?" And he would say that I was like Peter, still crying, O spare thyself! "But I must not hearken to thee, no more than my Master did to

him." Though his labours were so abundant, I never knew him, for nine years together, under the least illness one quarter of an hour.

He was exceedingly temperate in his diet. Though he had a very sharp appetite, yet did he at every meal deny himself, being persuaded that it did much conduce to his health. His conversation at his table was very profitable, and yet pleasant, never rising either at home or abroad without saying something of God, according to the rule he laid down to others. He was very much in commending and admiring the mercies of God in every meal, and was still so pleased with his provision that he would often say he fared deliciously every day, and lived far better than the great ones of the world, who had their tables far better furnished; for he enjoyed God in all, and saw his love and bounty in what he received at every meal: so that he would say, "O wife! I live a voluptuous life; but, blessed be God, it is upon spiritual dainties, such as the world know not and taste not of."

He was much in minding the poor that were in want of all things; often wondering that God should make such a difference between him and them, both for this world and that to come: and his charity was ever beyond his estate, as myself and many other friends conceived; but he would not be dissuaded, always saying that if he were prodigal, it was for God, and not for himself nor sin.

There were but few, if any, poor families, especially of the godly in Taunton, but he knew

their necessities, and did by himself, or friends, relieve them: so that our homes were seldom free from such as came to make complaints to him. After the times grew dead for trade, many of our godly men decaying, he would give much beyond his ability to recover them. He would buy pease and flitches of bacon, and distribute twice a year in the cold and hard seasons. He kept several children at school at his own cost; bought many books and catechisms, and had many thousands of prayers printed and distributed among them. And after his brethren were turned out he gave four pounds a year himself to a public stock for them; by which he excited many others to do the same, and much more, who else would never have done it. And on any other occasions as did frequently fall in, he would give even to the offence of his friends; so that many would grudge in the town to give what they had agreed for; because he would give so much. Besides all this, the necessities of his own father and many other relations were still calling upon him, and he was open-handed to them all; so that it hath been sometimes even incredible to ourselves to consider how much he did out of a little estate, and therefore may seem strange to others. Moreover, when he had received any more than ordinary mercy at the hand of God, his manner was to set apart some considerable portion out of his estate, and dedicate it to the Lord, as a thank-offering, to be laid out for his glory in pious and charitable uses.

When I have begged him to consider himself and me, he would answer me that he was laying up, and God would repay him; that by liberal things he should stand, when others might fall that censured him; that if he sowed sparingly, he should reap so; if bountifully, he should reap bountifully.

And I must confess I did often see so much of God in his dealings with us, according to his promises, that I have been convinced and silenced; God having often so strangely and unexpectedly provided for us. Notwithstanding all that he had done, he had at last somewhat to dispose of to his relations and to his brethren, besides a comfortable provision for me.

Thus his whole life was a continual sermon, holding forth evidently the doctrines he preached; humility, self-denial, patience, meekness, contentment, faith, and holy confidence shining in him, with love to God, and his church and people. And where he longed and panted to be he is now, shining in heaven, singing praises to God and to the Lamb; which work he much delighted in while here on earth.

CHAPTER VII.

BY MR. FAIRCLOUGH, IN WHOSE HOUSE MR. ALLEINE LODGED.

As for such as feared God already, he was still seeking their edification, and stirring them up to a holy life; very much pressing them to intend God as their end, and to do whatever they did for God. When the week began, he would say, "Another week is now before us: let us spend this week for God." And in the morning he would say, "Come now, let this day be spent for God. Now let us live this one day well. Could we resolve to be more than ordinarily circumspect, but for one day at a time, and so on, we might live at an extraordinary rate." In the day-time he would seasonably ask people, "How did you set out to-day? Did you set out for God to day? What were your morning thoughts?"

In the week-time he would often ask the servants for the heads of the sermon which they had heard on the Lord's day before. As he walked about the house, he would make some spiritual use of whatever occurred, and still his lips did drop like the honey-comb to all that were about him. Any offices that were done for him in his weakness were all well requited. To give a few instances of his words:—

To one that had done well: "There are two things," said he, "that we must especially look to, after well-doing, and the special taste of the love of God: 1. That we grow not proud of it,

and so lose all; 2. That we grow not secure, and so give the tempter new advantages."

Speaking of the vanity of the world, he said, "It is as good to be without the world, and to bear that state as beseemeth a Christian, as to enjoy the world, though it were never so well employed. If a man hath riches, and layeth them out for God, and for his servants, yet it is as happy a state to receive alms of another, so we bear our poverty aright, and are cheerful and thankful in our low estate. Though yet it is true, that riches may be used to the good of others; and it is more honourable to give than to receive."

Another time he said, "How necessary a duty it is for a child of God placidly to suit with all God's dispensations: and a Christian must not only quietly submit to God in all his dealings, but ever be best pleased with what God doeth, as knowing that he is infinitely wise and good. O how unbecoming a Christian is it to do otherwise!" To which one answering, "How short we ordinarily fall as to that temper!" he replied, "We have much ground to go yet, but so it must be; but we shall never be well indeed till we come to heaven."

Another time said he, "O what an alteration will be shortly made upon us! Now we are the sons of God, but yet it doth not appear to sight what we shall be. Did we imagine only that we shall shine as the sun in the firmament, it were too low a conception of our blessedness hereafter."

Another morning, as he was dressing, he said, "O what a shout will there be when Christ shall come in his glory! I hope all here present shall contribute to that shout."

Another time, "I bless the Lord, I delight in nothing in this world, farther than I see God in it."

Another time, in his weakness, saith he, "There are three things which must be unlearned, as being mistakes among men. 1. Men think that their happiness lieth in having the world, when it is much more in contemning the world. 2. Men think that the greatest contentment lieth in having their own will, when indeed it lieth in crossing, mortifying, and subduing their wills to the will of God. 3. Men think it their business and benefit to seek themselves, when indeed it is the denying of themselves."

Another time this was his advice: "1. Value precious time, while time doth last, and not when it is irrevocably lost. 2. Know the worth of things to come, before they come or are present; and the worth of things present, before they are past. 3. Value no mercy as it serveth to content the flesh, but as it is serviceable for God and to things eternal."

Such was his talk at the table, where he would be still raised in gratitude for God's bounty, and used to eat his meat with much cheerfulness and comfort, as savouring of a sweeter good.

He took one that was watching with him by

the hand, and said, "I hope to pass an eternity with thee in the praises of our God. In the meantime, let us live a life of praise while we are here; for it is sweet to us, and delightful to God. It is harmony in his ears, our failings being pardoned; and we and our praise are accepted through Christ." Such discourse is, I hope, no great rarity with good men, in the cheerfulness of prosperity in health; but for a man on the bed of tedious languishing it is more rare.

The night before he went to Bath, where he died, he said to the same person, "O how much more hath God done for you than for all the world of unconverted persons, in that he hath wrought his image on your heart, and will bring you at last to his celestial glory! See now that you acknowledge the grace of God, and give him the praise of it. For my part, I bless the Lord, I am full of his mercy. Goodness and mercy have followed me all my days. I am full and running over. I charge you to walk cheerfully, and to follow me with your praises while I am alive."

For such in the family as lay under doubts of their condition, he took great care of them, endeavouring daily to satisfy their doubts and answer their scruples; and still would be inquiring, whether they had yet any more settlement. And if they said they knew not how to try themselves, he would say, "Come, let me help you;" and so would take them aside, and propound some three or four sound marks, by way

of question, and would ask them whether it were so with them or not. If any doubt appeared to remain about it, he would not easily leave them, till they were somewhat satisfied at that time, and would bring all down to the meanest capacity, by putting his questions several ways. And if yet doubts remained, he would use all the compassion and pitifulness that might be, and open to them the goodness of God's nature, the sufficiency of Christ, and his readiness to accept returning sinners; and, after long trial by fairer means, would plainly labour to convince them of the sin of unbelief. For any in the family that seemed to stick under bare convictions, he much urged them to go on, and make a thorough, and sound, and sure work of it.

In family duties he seemed more excellent than at other times.

He was a man of singular patience in affliction. Though he lay under such weakness for certain years as rendered him almost wholly unable for his public work, and many times not able to move a hand or finger, or hardly any other part; yet some that have been much with him never heard him once complain of one pain or other, unless any asked him, and then he would always make the least of it. When he lay many nights, and never took the least rest by sleep, he would never show the least impatience, nor so much as say that he had not slept, unless it were asked him. And still would he justify and glorify God, and say,

"Shall I receive good at God's hand, and no evil?"

Speaking of exhortations and reproofs, he said, "It is the safest course, where it may be done, to take the opportunity, and not to suffer our backward hearts to cheat us of the present, on pretence of staying for a fitter time."

As advice for profitable discourse, he said, "It is good for such Christians as need it, to study beforehand what to speak, that they may always have something in readiness to bring forth for the benefit of others, which will prevent impertinences."

Of prayer with others he would say, "We have need to watch against confining our thoughts and desires to the cases of our own souls, with the neglect of those that join with us; but above all, with the neglect of the miserable world, and of the church of Christ." For though indeed hypocrites use to indite almost all their public prayers from the supposed case of those that are present, and meddle but little with their own sins and wants, unless in formality, yet sincere Christians are at first too apt to dwell upon their own cases almost alone; insomuch that they have need to be called outward; and as they grow in love, they will grow enlarged in the case of their brethren, but especially of public and universal consequence.

CHAPTER VIII.

WRITTEN BY ONE OF HIS FAMILIAR ACQUAINTANCE.

HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER, STATURE, AND COMPLEXION.

As to his personal bodily character, he was of stature tall and erect; of complexion clear and lovely, his countenance being the seat of cheerfulness, gravity, and love. His sprightly and serene countenance was the index of an active and harmonious soul. Anger, as it seldom beclouded, so it became not, that face which was most incapable of sour impressions. It was forced, and so not of long continuance; for it never appeared but upon summons, when commanded to interpose itself for the glory of God, and the honour of religion. Neither did his reason and virtue sooner raise than lay it when the cause was ceased. He was angry, and sinned not, by being angry chiefly or only for sin.

HIS CONSTITUTION.

He had not a more hale complexion than healthful constitution, hugely fitted for the employment in which he was so successful, namely, his ministerial labours and studies. Insomuch that he hath often been heard to confess, that he knew not what an hour's sickness or

indisposition was for thirty years and upward, even until after his first imprisonment; to which it may well be thought that he owed the first and fatal impairs of his healthful vigour. Since which first decay, it may be affirmed that contrariwise for some years together, till the period of his life, he scarcely knew what was an hour's health. Most deplorable it is, that his great and even excessive labours, and hard durance, should have been prodigal of that strength which might perchance have been hitherto employed to the most noble purposes. But alas, the innocent flames of love to God, and zeal for his glory, and the good of souls, made all his strength a whole burnt sacrifice, and as well devoted as if sacrificed to the flames of martyrdom.

HIS JUDGMENT.

And here some injury would be done to his worthy name, should his internal excellences, which are of all the greatest, be wholly forgot ten. His judgment was as the pot of manna, wherein were found and conserved all wholesome doctrines: most solid and acute it was. For though with the eye of his body he could not see far off, yet with the eye of his mind he penetrated far into the recesses of difficult truths; and out of mental perplexities he was wont happily to extricate himself and others; the toil of his intellect herein being not so pleasant as successful. He was all judgment in his inquiries after truth, and all affection in pursuing and promoting that which is good.

HIS MEMORY.

His memory was as the tables of the covenant, God's law being his meditation day and night, and as the sacred records there kept. It was a most faithful and refined treasury, out of which he continually brought things new and old for the instruction and consolation of his hearers. So tenacious it was, that it needed not, and wholly refused, those helps by which it is usually fortified, and its defects supplied. It knew not the slavery of an imposed task; for what had once engaged his love was, without delay or difficulty, possessed of his mind.

HIS FANCY.

His fancy was as Aaron's rod budding, ever producing fresh blossoms of refined divine wit and invention. It was quick and happy, a fruitful storehouse of hallowed and sublime notions; ever pregnant, yet never bringing forth any other than the offspring of judgment and discretion. Though it soared high, yet when it had gone to its utmost length, it was checked by his judgment and humility, lest it should ascend above its height.

HIS WILL AND AFFECTIONS.

His will he had so long lost in the divine will as not to find it, or to be troubled with its reluctances, under so long and sad a series of trials and afflictions as those which attended him constantly to his grave. His affections

were strong and fervent; and, to use his words, they kept to their right objects and their due bounds, never enkindled but with a coal from the altar; and then they soared to marvellous heights. He was indeed, as it were, all affection in pursuing and promoting the grand interests of religion. The zeal of God's house had consumed him; and that not blind nor wild, but well attempered with light and heat. What holy Mr. Herbert said of himself, that may be said of him, that his active soul was as a keen knife in a thin sheath, ever about to cut through, and take its flight into the region of souls.

HIS GREAT GRAVITY.

But to proceed to some of his excellent properties. His gravity appeared to be true and genuine, (as not affected or morose, not through any inability, but unwillingness to press his wit to the service of vanity,) resulting from a mind ever in the awe of God; because his presence and deportment struck such an awe even on all with whom he conversed, and composed them to a true decorum. As the Rev. Mr. Bolton, when walking in the streets, was so much clothed with majesty, as by the notice of his coming in these words, "Here comes Mr. Bolton," as it were to charm them into order, when vain or doing amiss; so this most grave divine, wheresoever he came, was as a walking spirit by his presence conjuring them into a grave deportment. What the statue of Sennacherib

did speak, that much more did this lively image of the most high God speak,—"He who looketh to me, let him be religious."

This his great gravity was not only discerned by all, but also more particularly and especially acknowledged and loved by his brethren in the ministry; for there being some matter of moment depending among them, the care of which was to be devolved on some one man, a worthy divine, far exceeding him in years, solicited him to take it on him; who modestly waived it, wondering that they should pitch on one so young and inexperienced as himself for so solemn an undertaking. The forenamed divine replied, that of all the ministers, his brethren, whereof many for age were his fathers, he knew none of greater gravity, industry, and fitness for the management of that affair than himself.

HIS AFFABILITY.

Neither was he so immured in his study as to be averse from generous and innocent freedom, and obligingness of converse; for love and affability were accurately attempered with his great gravity. He became all things to all men, that he might gain the more; and so communicative, innocent, and obliging was all his converse, that he commanded the admiration of his friends, and forced this acknowledgment from his adversaries, both profane, atheistical, and sectarian, that if there were ever a good man among the nonconformists, Mr. Alleine was he.

HIS CHARITY.

Communicative I say he was, both of spiritual, and also temporal good things, according to and even beyond his power, both when he heard the loud complaints of some, and when he listened to the silent suits of others, namely, some modest and indigent housekeepers, who only spake by their real needs, and entered their suits at the eyes of an inquisitive almoner, more than at his ears. Of the good things pertaining to this life he was often liberal beyond his measure; and of those pertaining to another life, often beyond his strength: and by this constellation of his charity and alms-deeds, he made the one more profitable, and the other more acceptable; the one the greater, and the other the happier and more successful. By this conjunction also, he approved himself more perfect before God, the more thoroughly furnished to every good word and work.

HIS UTTERANCE.

His manner of speech was free, eloquent, sublime, and weighty. Of him it may be well said, as of our blessed Saviour, "That all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth." It will be hard to tell what man ever spake with more holy eloquence, gravity, authority, meekness, compassion, and efficacy to souls, than he did to those to whom in instruction, exhortation, consolation, reprehension, he most wisely, frequently, and successfully applied himself. Few

could resist or stand before the united force of his love and authority; being equally attracted by the one, and awed by the other.

True it is, that this young Timothy (with whom few were like-minded, in caring naturally for the state of his flock) was at his first entrance on his ministry despised for his youth, by those who after with shame confessed their error, and deplored their rashness, resolving after, for his sake no more to judge according to appearance, but to honour for their work and intrinsic worth those whom age hath not made venerable.

HIS STUDIES AND LEARNING.

As it respects his studies, he had a strong inclination to, and delight in, the study of the natural and ethnic theology, in which he proceeded to a great acquaintance with the chief sects of the philosophers, especially the Academics and Stoics, of his insight into whom he made singular use, by gathering their choicest flowers to adorn Christianity withal; and, indeed, scarcely did he preach a sermon wherein he did not select some excellent passage or other out of these, whereby to illustrate and fortify his discourse. And how well becoming a divine, and most laudable, this his inclination and choice was, is most manifest to considering men; for hereby he more confirmed himself in the Christian religion (which he had espoused with so much judgment and zeal) by a distinct and certain knowledge of the highest principles

and hopes of the ethnic religions, and by a sober comparing of that with these. He also much delighted in anatomy, in which he acquired a considerable skill, which also he not a little improved by frequent dissections. And in his public ministry he often made use of this his insight by composing, with Galen, hymns to the Creator, whose infinite wisdom he was often heard to admire, in the contrivance of man's outward frame, and in the rare contexture, dependance, and use of all, even the minutest parts, in the excellent fabric of man's body. As to his skill in the languages, it was not contemptible, especially in those three which Christ sanctified upon the cross.

HIS MODERATION AND HUMILITY.

He managed his dissent in judgment from others with great charity, humility, and moderation, most strictly observing what he still exhorted his flock unto, namely, "to speak evil of no man, much less of dignities." When his judgment was at any time desired concerning any sermon which he had heard, and any minister, (conformist or nonconformist,) though weak and mean, he would yet ever find matter of commendation, none of dispraise; judging the minister and his discourse at least to be honest, and of good intent. He abhorred to intrench on the divine prerogative, in judging of men's states before the time; and in condemning men's actions at all adventures, without considering their lessening or altering circumstances.

And as he liked to judge no man beyond his sphere, and speak evil of no man, so in his life did he reap as great and visible reward as any for this most Christian practice; for the tongues even of all did pay tribute to his good name, which was a thing so entire and sacred that scarce a Rabshakeh or Shimei could find a passage by which to invade it. His good name was as a precious box of ointment, by his death especially broken and poured forth, the delicious scent whereof all those hearts with great delight retain which were opened to his heavenly doctrine; and not only so, but they will perpetuate it while they have children's children by whom to eternize his memory.

HIS PRACTICE AS TO CHURCH COMMUNION.

As it respects his practice and moderate opinion in point of church communion, and his judgment in point of obedience to the supreme power, together with his great regard to, and earnest insisting on, second-table duties, much may be said to his worthy praise. After his ejectment, he as frequently attended on public worship as his opportunities and strength permitted, and often declared his very good liking of some sermons which he heard from the present incumbent. He did not account that none could worship God aright, unless in all instances and smaller circumstances of worship they wholly accorded with his apprehensions; but with the apostle he had learned to say, "Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence

or in truth, Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." He knew of how great moment it was, that the public worship of God should be maintained, and that its assemblies should not be relinquished, though some of its administrations did not clearly approve themselves unto him; because upon the account of some imperfections and pollutions in them, supposed or real, to withdraw communion is evidently to suppose ourselves joined before our time to the heavenly assembly; or to have found such a one here on earth, exempt from all mixtures and imperfections of worshippers and worship. He abandoned not all forms, but their formal use; neither those in particular publicly established, (through a fond prejudice or partiality, as may be affirmed of too many,) but hath been heard much to commend that form of thanksgiving, both excellent and ancient, namely, the *Te Deum;* and particularly that sentence in it, "The noble army of martyrs praise thee;" which he was wont to mention with a certain exultation. So moderate and calm he was in his judgment, that when the two new forms in the liturgy, on the horrid decollation of King Charles the First, and on the return of King Charles the Second, were first printed, he was so far from being offended with them, because they were forms, or because they bore the stamp of authority, that he had ever resolved to read them, had not some occurrences, which I need not name, prevailed with him to forbear.

HIS LOYALTY.

It appeared that he had a due sense of the grand importance of the obedience of subjects to the supreme magistrate, by some excellent sermons which he preached on Romans xiii, 1, a little before his ejection; where and when his judgment was so strict as unjustly to offend some whose weakness and ignorance, by reason of a long proscription of the regal power, had made over scrupulous or erroneous. His loyalty also to his prince he discovered in observing the injunction of the wise man, "Not to curse the king," no not in his bedchamber or retiring rooms; for he hath often been seen with indignation to turn from, and hush into silence, all reports or surmises, true or false, which directly or indirectly tended to detract and defame dignities, accounting them no cause of withdrawing or lessening our just honour and obedience, but rather of giving ourselves the more to prayer and humiliation.

HIS RESPECT TO SECOND-TABLE DUTIES.

He was not only a man aspiring to the heights, but also respecting the due breadth and extent, of religion, being well advised how much the vitals and honour of religion in the world are conserved by, and concerned in, a conscientious discharge of second-table duties. That he had a deep sense of the great advantage or disadvantage accruing to religion, by the strict or remiss performance of the duties of the second

table, and particularly those of the fifth commandment, all bear him witness in, that upon several texts, for a long time together, he most faithfully instructed his people in relative duties, (than which none indeed are more momentous, and less observed,) and most sharply reproved the guilty for their failures therein; in all which relations, their duties, and defects, he particularly, and with much zeal, insisted. Witness also his great grief and indignation, which he frequently conceived, and with great vehemence expressed, in lamenting over and reproving some professors of religion, for their wretched neglect and breach of second-table precepts; the scandal and dishonour of which to religion and the religious how he resented, none but God and his own soul did thoroughly know. He vehemently detested that impious and hellish design of putting asunder, in this matter, what God hath joined together; namely, those commands respecting God and our neighbour; both which he hath equally appointed to us as rules of direction and judgment. He was neither legalist nor solifidian; neither ritualist nor enthusiast; not so much above in the mount with God as not also to come down to his neighbour, whom he did accost as Moses with both tables in his hand, on which his life and doctrine did constantly and excellently comment.

HIS LABOURS IN THE MINISTRY.

As it respects his great industry and happy labours in the ministry, together with his great

prudence and compassion, in applying himself to the souls of his flock, according to their most pressing needs, there are none who knew the former but must also confess and admire the latter.

1. *His Prudence in them.*

His prudence in apportioning, as well as designing, the most suitable and seasonable instructions to his people, was most apparent, in that he was still (after he had finished a foregoing text or discourse) even at a loss, as he hath often expressed himself to some of his friends, what subject most advantageous and seasonable to his auditory he should next insist on; so far he was from aiming or shooting at random in his divine instructions and exhortations. And so loath he was to labour in vain, and to pass from one discourse to another, as one unconcerned whether he had sown any good seeds or not in the hearts of his hearers, that in the close of his application on any text, (which sometimes he handled for a considerable while,) he ever expressed his great unwillingness to leave that subject till he could have some assurance that he had not fought in that spiritual warfare against sin as one who beateth the air; when also he expressed his great fear lest he should, after all his most importunate warnings, leave them as he found them. And here with how much holy rhetoric did he frequently expostulate the case with impenitent sinners, in words too many to mention, and yet

too weighty to be forgotten; vehemently urging them to come to some good resolve before he and they parted, and to make their choice either of life or death.

2. *His Compassion on Souls.*

His compassion toward all that were committed to his charge was most manifest, especially toward the ignorant, those that were out of the way, and those that did move heavily on in the way.

(1.) *On the Ignorant, in instructing and catechising them.*

To the ignorant. And here knowing that without knowledge the heart is not and cannot be good; and considering also how too successfully the evil one, by sowing evil seeds betimes in the hearts of youth, does ever after defeat the most laborious endeavours for their recovery and salvation, he was in nothing more industrious, and in nothing more happy and successful in exerting his industry, than in an early sowing those blessed seeds of divine knowledge in the hearts of all the youth that he could reach in person or otherwise; by which they were exceedingly formed to receive all good impressions. During the time of his public ministry on every Lord's day in the afternoon he constantly catechised, before a great congregation, the youth of each sex by turns, among whom were several, both young men and women, sometimes five or six of the chief scholars of

the free school, sometimes five or six of the apprentices of the town, some of whom, though of man's estate, accounted it not a disgrace to learn, (according to the guise of this mad world,) but to be ignorant. Sometimes, of the other sex, five or six young gentlewomen, who were under his wife's tuition, (and so his domestic oversight,) kept their turns, of whom she had not a few, and those the daughters of gentlemen of good rank far and near, whose laudable emulation, and love to their father, (as they styled him,) and to the work, was the cause why they were not so over bashful as to decline so advantageous a course; by which, together with domestic instructions and example, even all received a tincture of piety and religion, and many a thorough impression: besides these, several virgins also, and among these the daughters of some of the chief magistrates in the town, kept their turns. In this his course he drew out, on the short answers in the Assembly's Catechism, an excellent discourse on all the points of the Christian theology, which he handled successfully, reducing his discourse to several heads, which he also proved by pertinent places of Scripture; which done, he gave both the heads and proofs written at length, on a week day, to those whom he designed to catechise on the ensuing Lord's day, which, besides the short answers in the Catechism, and the annexed proofs, they committed to memory, and rendered on the afternoon of the day aforesaid. Throughout all which course

he approved himself to be a most substantial divine.

Neither did his catechistical labours rest here, but also on Thursdays in the afternoon, as I remember, he catechised in the church; street by street, whole families, excepting the married or more aged, in order: which exercise, I suppose, he designed as preparatory to his Lord's-day work. Besides this, on Saturdays in the morning, he catechised the free school of that place, instructing them in the points of Christian doctrine, and excellently explaining the answers in the Assembly's Catechism, discovering a mine of knowledge in them, and in himself. How excellent was his design, and great his labour, besides all this, in going from house to house, and instructing both old and young, is elsewhere abundantly declared. Neither was this his labour in vain; but became even as successful as laborious; for there are few but have gratefully acknowledged that by this means they were either led into the knowledge, or induced to the belief, choice, and practice of that which is of sovereign advantage to them to this day. And how happy and likely a course he took herein to advance religion in the nation, on the hearts and lives of men; and how far less successful and probable all other means are, aiming at this end, without this initial work, it is left to all pious and considering men to judge.

(2.) *On those that err, by reproving and reducing them.*

He had not only compassion over the ignorant, but also over those who were out of the way: witness his faithful and effectual discharge of that great duty of giving seasonable reproofs, of which his great faithfulness there is abundant mention elsewhere. And by so much the more did his excellent discharge hereof speak forth his high praise, by how much the more difficult he ever apprehended it aright to apply it. He hath been heard often to say, that it was far more difficult to him to give than to take a reproof, considering how great wisdom, courage, compassion, self-denial, &c., is required in order to its right discharge. And though he was so rarely passive, and often active in this work, yet the frequency of his giving a reproof never made it so easy as to be less difficult than to receive it. But ever this work was to him, not only an act of the greatest self-denial, but also the result of a strong conflict within, betwixt his indignation at the sin, and compassion on the sinner. And yet the consideration of the difficulty was not to him an argument to forbear, but rather a stronger motive to undertake it; who ever delighted to converse in, and conquer, the difficulties of Christianity, both in doing and suffering. Small difficulties here were not his match, and there were no noble achievements in religion to which he attained not, or vigorously applied.

As it is said of Themistocles, that famous Athenian captain, that the acts of Miltiades broke his sleep; so as truly may it be said of this blessed saint, that the acts and monuments of the famous worthies mentioned in the Hebrews, and of those of the same achievements with them in all ages of the world, even broke his sleep, by impregnating his soul with high designs of aspiring after their perfections. Oft therefore he hath been heard to excite Christians so long to move in the sphere of difficulties, till the sweet severities of Christianity, as he often called them, were subdued, and even made familiar; encouraging them with this consideration, that then they would highly approve their divine love and sincerity, and conceive a pleasure in those difficult acts, which would equal, yea, exceed the pleasure of their natural actions.

(3.) *On the Doubting, by resolving and releasing them.*

Neither had he only compassion on those that were out of the way, but also on those who moved heavily on in the way. How he hath often raised and rectified desponding Christians, who are too prone to account doubting, which is their sin, to be their duty and virtue! At once he hath often unloosened them from the straitness of their needless fears and disquiets, and undeceived them by discovering the latent unbelief that lay lurking in such despondings, assuring them in these words, that, under a sly

pretence of humility, they did call in question God's veracity.

HIS SINGULAR PIETY.

As it respects his singular piety, all who knew him can say much, and yet all but little, considering how much more hath escaped the most tenacious memory, observant eye, and attentive ear. Yet he must be wretchedly unobservant who, amid so many and great instances of it, can make no reflections.

How much he conceived it as his own and others' greatest interest, ornament, and felicity herein to excel, will be manifest by his exhortation which he gave to a young scholar ready to depart to the university, in words to this purpose: "I know that you will labour to excel in learning; but be sure to excel as in that, so also and especially in holiness, which will render you one of the most useful and amiable creatures in the world. Learning will render you perchance acceptable to men, but piety both to God and men. By that you will shine only on earth, to the clods thereof, and perhaps in some obscure corner of it; but this is an orient pearl, which will shine in you on earth and in heaven, both to God, angels, and men." How much he dwelt on this exhortation, and these apprehensions, will be evident by a pious letter which he sent to the person forenamed, some years after, wherein his words are these: "O study God, and study yourself closely; and pursue holiness more than learning, though both these together

make a happy constellation, and are like Castor and Pollux, which, when they appear together, do ever presage good to the mariners."

HIS CONTEMPT OF THE WORLD.

Happy is the man that can but learn this. When once a man is arrived hereto, he is above the world's reach, and hath attained to the true heroic mind, so as that no external commotions will be able to disturb his tranquillity; neither will the comforts or crosses here below make any great accession to or diminution from the serenity of his spirit. And, indeed, nothing was more conspicuous in this blessed saint than that generous contempt of the world, that true loftiness and yet profound humility of spirit, (of which the lessons afore mentioned are but so many instances,) which he recommended to others. He was much a stranger on the earth, like the kingly prophet; not because, with old Barzillai, he could not, but would not, taste or comply with its pleasures and delights; but he was chiefly induced, by a forced exilement from his desired and delectable habitation, to think on his state of banishment from his heavenly country while here militant upon earth, and to solace his thoughts under so great a grievance by such divine considerations as those which he mentions in the following words of his forenamed letter:—"That is worthy of a saint indeed, to account himself always in a state of banishment while in the state of mortality, like the worthies that sojourned even in the land of

promise, as in a strange country. Such a sojourner I wish both myself and you to be; and may the moveableness of our present state fix our desires upon that kingdom which shall never be shaken!"

HIS UNIVERSAL AND UNIFORM OBEDIENCE.

He declared his piety to be genuine and excellent by its universal regard and extent, as to all God's commands, so to all man's converses and employments: witness his earnest and frequent exhortations, whereby he daily called upon his people to a constant uniform care over their hearts and ways. Nothing did he more passionately dehort them from, than from that undoing fraud unto their souls, namely, confining their religion to their closets, upon the supposal that in so doing they had there put in sufficient security for their after conversation, and had bidden fair for the divine favour; as if religion had taught men only to kneel, and not how to work and walk; as if it were solitary or deformed, loving only to move in the private path and narrow circle of our morning or evening devotions, and so ever before and after to appear least in sight; or as if it were a fury, and so to be limited, and not to be intrusted with the universal conduct of our lives and actions. For many there are who think fit rather to make religion their vassal than undivided companion; to command it, rather than it should command them; and therefore they make it to keep its times and places, its postures and

due distance, and think not good that it belong to their company, or appear in their words or actions, unless when it may serve the uses of a cloak and cover of hypocrisy and iniquity.

HIS CARE OF HIS THOUGHTS AND ENDS.

These his forementioned momentous exhortations, attended with most excellent motives, were designed chiefly to direct them how well to begin and end the day in the fear, and as in the presence, of God, by hallowing their thoughts, and (as his words were) setting their ends aright in the morning, (then making their resolves, and piously forecasting the work of the day following,) and by an impartial survey and examination, in the evening, of their compliance or noncompliance with their foregoing prescriptions unto themselves, whether they obtained their designs and ends, and how they acquitted themselves in the day foregoing.

Thus, by pointing at the two extremes in each day, he happily secured the middle. He tacitly convinced them by his own example and great growth in piety hereby, and expressly by many other eminent instances, how advantageous a course he had recommended to them. To this end he much applauded those two no less excellent than common books, the "Practice of Piety," and "Scudder's Daily Walk." By this course he had taught himself and others, as by constant though small gains, to arrive to great attainments in Christianity, by constant and short accounts the more accurately to know the

state of their souls, and the more easily to discern their progress or declinings; so as the more to rejoice in and promote the one, and the sooner to put limits to and redress the other. Also he much inculcated on each Christian that important duty of foreappointing and fixing his ends, not only in the general, but as much as might be particularly and explicitly before each action of the day, but especially each solemn action, revolving and conceiving such a thought and resolve as this in his mind:—"This or this will I do for God," &c. By which heedful course, he assured the observer, that he would hallow all his actions, and reap this treble advantage, (to say no more,) both of espousing the divine direction and blessing, and of obtaining a surer testimony of his sincerity, and also a stronger motive to diligence, and an awful circumspection in the right discharge of what he undertook. In compliance with this his excellent exhortation to others, he knew not a day wherein he arose without some heavenly design of promoting God's glory and the good of souls, accounting it a shame that the covetous should arise with such anxious projects of compassing his desired wealth, the ambitious his airy honours and grandeur, the voluptuous his vain pleasures; and that the religious, who have so glorious a prize and trophies before their eyes, should be men of no projects or designs. If of any, it may be affirmed of him, that according to his frequent and vehement exhortation thereunto, he made religion his business: which worthy

advice, in the same words, he did so often inculcate, that a gentleman meeting a plain honest countryman, and discoursing of Mr. Alleine, cavilled at this passage which he had often heard from him, as appearing unto him absurd and unintelligible, not knowing how any thing (as he said) could be called a man's business, unless that which is secular: so foolishly ignorant of the just interest and power of religion is an unhallowed heart, and so apt to quarrel with that wholesome advice, and loath to be in earnest in any thing, unless in the pursuit of vanity or vice.

HIS DELIGHT IN MEDITATION.

Neither did the frequent and faithful performance of the two great difficulties of Christianity, namely, reproof and self-examination, (consisting of so many complicated self-denials,) exclusively proclaim and improve his great piety, but also his great acquaintance with the delightsome work of heavenly meditation. A specimen of his profitable management of this work, and his great heights herein, he often gave in some of his most excellent devotional and contemplative discourses, both dropped from his mouth and committed to writing. And as was his delight, so were his converses with those authors who increased his contemplative pleasure; but particularly he delighted in Mr. Baxter's platform of meditation on the heavenly felicity, in the close of his Saint's Everlasting Rest; a great part whereof he so digested as

often to cite it with pleasure, prefacing his citations with these words: "Most divinely saith that man of God, holy Mr. Baxter," &c. And indeed had not his zeal for God's glory, and the salvation of souls, engaged him so much to an active life, he could have even lived and died wholly in divine contemplation and adoration; so much did he delight to shrink within himself, and to abandon the view of the desperate adventures and antic motions of a mad world, that so being shut to these, he might only open his soul to God and glory, displaying it to the glorious beams of the Sun of righteousness. Therefore did he often delight in his devotions to converse with the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field, since these were more innocent and less degenerate than man.

With streams and plants did he delight to walk; and all these did utter to his attentive ear the praise and knowledge of his Creator; and in his unsettled sojournings from place to place he did often (to use his own words) look back with sweetness and great content on the places of his former pleasant retirements, setting, as it were, a mark upon those which had marvellously pleased him in his solitudes, by administering to his contemplative delight.

HIS DELIGHT IN PRAISING.

His great perfection in holiness was manifest, in that he loved so much, and lived a life of praise and thanksgiving. Being arrived at some perfection, he desired and designed to an-

tedate the work and songs of spirits made perfect. Thus David much proclaimed his perfection in piety, by his great heights in this heavenly employment. And it is evident that saints most devoted to this heavenly repast are most perfect; because the more men adore and praise, the less they want; (for sad and constant complaints, and pensive thoughts, are the attendants of great wants;) and the less men want, the more is their perfection. His exhortations to Christians were frequently designed to raise them to that sublime life of praise and thanksgiving. Often hath he reproved Christians, charging them with the greatest folly and ingratitude in so much neglecting this so pleasing and profitable duty, and in using it so little in their religious exercises. He much condemned them for that too general practice in thrusting so large a part of their devotions into so narrow a room as only the close of their prayers: especially did he excite Christians to this duty on the Lord's day, as the most proper work for so divine a festival: shaming them with the excellent example of the primitive Christians, who welcomed in the sun that brought so glorious a day as the Christian Sabbath, with their heavenly hymns to their Creator and Redeemer; and reproving them for so little considering and observing the proper end of its institution. But in respect to his own practice, a great, yea, and sometimes the greatest part of his prayer was thanksgiving; and indeed he was never so

much in his element, either in prayer or in preaching, as when he was extolling and adoring the love of Christ, and marvelling at God's infinite goodness in the gift of his Son our Saviour.

Neither did he so gaze upon and adore Christ, his Redeemer. and his redemption, as to forget to sound forth the praises of God the Creator; for often he hath been heard, with admiration and praise, to take notice of the divine power and wisdom in the works of creation; and therefore in the open air, in the private retirement of some field or wood, he delighted to address himself to God in praise, that his eyes might affect his heart and awake his glory. And here often he hath been heard to say, that "man was the tongue of the whole creation, appointed as the creatures' interpreter, to speak forth the praises which they but silently intimate."

He much delighted in vocal music, and especially in singing psalms and hymns; particularly Mr. Barton's: witness his constant practice after dinner elsewhere related. In him it may be said, in as high a degree as of most saints on earth, that each thought to him was a prayer, each prayer a song, each day a Sabbath, each meal a sacrament, a foretaste of that eternal repast to which he hath now arrived.

HIS REDEMPTION OF TIME.

That he might effect all the excellent purposes of a holy life, he set a high value on time,

and did with so wise and holy forecast each day redeem and fill it up, that he did not only do nothing, but also not little, though in a short time. All companies heard him proclaim the price of time; and how excellently and advantageously he did it in public before his ejection, in several most useful sermons on Ephesians v, 16, many that heard him to this day, to their great comfort and profit, remember. And the more remarkable was this his holy thrift, because prophetical of his short abode here on earth.

His diligence and holiness in this his sphere of action were a presage of his speedy translation, as with Enoch, to the sphere of vision and fruition, for a reward of his singular piety; it being not probable that he who made so great a haste to despatch his heavenly work should be long without his desired recompense.

CHAPTER X.

BY HIS REVEREND AND INTIMATE FRIEND MR. RICHARD FAIRCLOUGH.

He was a person with whom for many years I was well acquainted; and the more I knew him, the more I loved and admired the rich and exceeding grace of God in him. I looked on him as one of the most elevated, refined, choice saints that I ever knew, or expect, while I live, to know; and that because, among others, I observed these things of him:—

1. A most sincere, pure, and absolute consecration of himself to God in Christ Jesus. His soul had first practised the covenant-dedication which his hand afterward prescribed as a pattern to others in his father-in-law's book.

There seemed no sinister end, or false affection, to move or sway him in his way; but the good pleasure of the Lord, the edification of his church, and the salvation of souls, were the only marks his eye seemed at all to regard in his designs and acts. I know no other man's heart; but thus he appeared to my most attentive observation; and so I fully believe concerning him, as much as of any person I ever saw.

2. In this his dedication to God, he was carried with the highest and purest flame of divine love that ever I observed in any; and that love arising from a clear vision of the beauty of divine perfection, especially his gospel love; the sight of which beauty and excellence seemed perpetually to possess and ravish his soul. This love seemed wholly separated from all that carnal heat that would carry him into fantastic or indecent expressions; but his mind seemed to be always ascending with its might in the greatest calmness and satisfaction. Thus have I oft observed him in frequent and silent elevation of heart, manifested by the most genuine and private lifting up of his eyes, and joined with the sweetest smile of his countenance, when, I am confident, he little thought of being seen by any. Thus have I oft heard him flow in prayer and discourse, with the clearest conviction, and

dearest taste of divine excellence and goodness; and the fullest, highest, and most pleased expression of his being overcome by it, and giving up his all in esteem to it. But this love, in the greatest demonstration, appeared by his perpetual and insatiable spending of his whole self for the glory of God, the good of the church, and the salvation of souls. His head was ever contriving, his tongue pressing, and his whole man acting, some design for these. So he lived, and so he died. He laboured and suffered himself into the maladies which ended him: and when he was at Bath, like a perfect skeleton, and could move neither hand nor foot, when his physicians had forbidden him all preaching, and dissuaded him from vocal praying, (as being above his strength,) yet then would he almost daily be carried in his bath-chair to the almshouses, and little children's schools, and there give them catechisms, teach them the meaning of them, and call them to an account, how they remembered and understood. And he died designing a way how every poor child in Somersetshire might have, learn, and be instructed in, the Assembly's Catechism; yea, and at the expression of his affection, I cannot but mention the frequentest ecstasies or raptures of spirit, wherein he lay on his bed, (when his body was even deprived of all power of its own motion, but with no great pain,) in consideration of divine love to him in general, and in particular that he felt no great pain. Never heard I God so loved and thanked in the highest confluences

of pleasing providences by others, as he was by him in his affliction, for not inflicting great pain upon him; though he was otherwise so sad a spectacle of weakness, and looked so like death, that some great ladies often hindered his coming into the bath, the ghastliness of his look did so affright them.

3. His pure and sacred love wrought in him a great spirit of charity and meekness to men of other judgments and persuasions, and great affection toward all such in whom he found any spiritual good. His zeal was all of a building, and not destroying, nature. He had too much wisdom to esteem his own thoughts to be the standard of all other men's. His clear light and pure heat made him of a more discerning, substantial, and divine temper, than to reject any (in whom charity could see any thing of a new nature) for differing from him in the modes or forms of discipline or worship, or disputable points.

4. Suitably to his high degree of holiness and divine communion, he enjoyed the richest assurance of divine love to himself in particular, and of his saving interest in Christ. I believe few men were ever born that attained to so clear, satisfied, and powerful evidence that his sins were pardoned, and his person accepted in Jesus unto eternal life, and had more glorious foretastes of heaven. I remember once coming in when he was kneeling down to family prayer, his heart was in that duty carried forth into such expressions of love and praise for the sealings

of everlasting life as I never heard before or since; and such as, I am fully satisfied, none could express but who had received the white stone with the new name in it.

But this was not accidental to him, or unusual; for (whatever clouds he might possibly have, though I know of none,) I am sure, for a good time before his death, he lived in the very dawning to glory, both in the full assurance of it as his portion, and a spirit of sanctity, love, and praise, like unto it.

And though in the very hour of his dying, his disease had heated his head; and in his raptures he had expressions which at another time his grace and reason would not have used; yet all the copies which I have seen of those transports, in the substance of them, speak only fuller assurance of God's love to him, and his highest returns of love to Christ again.

And I do not at all wonder, that a person shining so much with the divine image, and living so uninterruptedly in the nearest divine communion, should enjoy such assurance of God's love, and be filled so with joy therein, and making such returns of love and praise thereto.

THE LIFE

OF

MR. NATHANAEL HEYWOOD,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT ORMSKIRK,
IN LANCASHIRE.

THE LIFE

OF

MR. NATHANAEL HEYWOOD.

CHAPTER I.

Mr. Nathanael Heywood was born in Little-Leaver, in the parish of Bolton-le-Moors, in Lancashire. He was descended from godly parents, Richard and Alice Heywood; and was baptized in the parish church, September 16th, 1633. During his infancy he was exceedingly weak and sickly, much afflicted with fits, and was frequently under the sentence of death, in the apprehension of all spectators. His tender-hearted parents often gave him up; but God, who quickeneth the dead, raised him from the gates of the grave, that by him he might raise sinners from death to spiritual life. Those violent fits so weakened his spirits, that in his younger days he was not judged fit to be trained up for the ministry; and therefore his parents frequently took him from school, and set him to learn to write and cast accounts, intending to send him to London for an apprentice. But he recruiting as to natural strength, they, being encouraged by his extraordinary capacity for

learning, kept him still at school, having the advantage of a learned and diligent master near at hand, who encouraged them much to breed him a scholar, especially observing his inclinations that way. At last they resolved upon it; and when he had passed those juvenile studies at school, making good proficiency, notwithstanding his frequent interruptions, he was judged ready for the university at fourteen years of age: whither he went, and was admitted, May 4th, 1648, in Trinity College, Cambridge. He was well approved of for learning, and fell close to his studies, performing the usual exercises with applause. He was of a quick apprehension, solid judgment, tenacious memory; which seldom meet in one person; and was therefore fit to manage what he undertook with great facility: so that he profited in academical learning beyond his equals.

As yet his heart was not seasoned with grace. Though he was religiously educated, complying with holy exercises, loved God's people, and was not tainted with gross scandals; yet he had not discerned the evil of sin, the necessity of Christ, till he was providentially brought under the ministry of Mr. Hammond, Fellow of Magdalen College, preacher at St. Giles's; by whose plain and powerful preaching his heart was smitten with a sound conviction, which cost him many sad thoughts of heart, as well as tears, but ended in a sound conversion, and sincere covenanting with God, and centring his soul by faith on Jesus Christ. Then he associated with

serious Christians, and walked exemplarily; howbeit, he complained of his backslidings, which he repented of, and his soul was healed. When he had taken his degree, he went to London, and there heard Mr. Peter Sterry; and was much taken with his parts, and manner of preaching.

When he came down into the country, his father judged it convenient to dispose of him under the tuition of some reverend minister, by whose care and example he might be prepared for farther service. And it pleased God in his providence to fix him in the family of that judicious divine, Mr. Edward Gee, of Eccleston; where he continued about two years, studied hard, behaved himself orderly, and profited much: so that he often blessed God for the good he met with in that family; and indeed he was moulded into the method and practices of that holy and eminent man of God; whose excellent treatises of prayer and government speak his worth: a man of great learning, orthodoxy, and exact holiness; a most substantial Scriptural preacher.

While Mr. Heywood lived in Mr. Gee's family, God directed his thoughts to a young gentlewoman in the neighbourhood, Elizabeth Parre, nearly related to Dr. Parre, bishop of the Isle of Man; whom, in convenient time, he married, and she became a pious, prudent, provident wife for him; by whom he had several children. His elder son succeeded in his father's place, as pastor to that people, in

their newly erected meeting-place; a young man of parts, and of exemplary piety.

When Mr. Heywood was married, it pleased God to give him a call to a people in Yorkshire; for he had a great desire to be employed in his Lord's work: and that very day that an invitation came to him, he told the messenger that he had been spending most of it in fasting and prayer; wherein he found his heart much enlarged, and looked upon that call as an answer to prayer; and thereupon freely embraced it, and in convenient season took a journey.

The place to which he was called was Illingworth chapel, in the vicarage of Halifax. When he had preached a day or two with them, the people engaged him to settle with them, which he did; and continued three or four years, and was an instrument of much good, having a full auditory, and some seals of his ministry. But the devil, envying the success of the gospel, raised up some potent adversaries against him, who maligned and opposed him for his faithfulness in admonitions. Some meetings there were about his continuance; one said to him, "Mr. Heywood, you have raised differences and disturbances since you came." He answered, "I have not sought the peace of the place, but the good of it." This the man ruminated upon, and could not tell what to make of that expression; not remembering that the principal design of the gospel and its publishers is the good of souls; but the

accidental fruit of it is dissension, through the corruption of men's hearts, according to what our blessed Lord expressed, Matt. x, 34: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword." In this controversy about his stay, an earnest request was sent to him by the people of Ormskirk, to come to them. He hearkened to them, having several discouragements at Illingworth, not here fit to be named: notwithstanding, some cordial friends in that congregation stuck close to him, and challenged an interest in him; both sides using more than ordinary arguments and importunity, exceedingly puzzled him, and set him upon the rack of suspense. He earnestly sought to God about it, he begged the advice and prayers of his friends, and at last was counselled to refer the business to several ministers indifferently chosen by both sides, to hear what could be said, understand circumstances, and give their judgment in this weighty case, to which of these places his way was most clear. Indeed, a third place put in vigorously for him, namely, Thornton, in Bradford parish; but the controversy was chiefly between Ormskirk and Illingworth. The ministers met about this concern at Wigan, in Lancashire, in January, 1656, with two or three of the inhabitants of those three places. Much debate there was, and some hard words passed; the business was difficult, and cost many hours' discourse, both in the day and in the evening: and, upon a serious view of the reasons on all

hands, at last ministers concluded that his way was clear to leave Yorkshire, and betake himself to Ormskirk; which, being a great parish, and a considerable market-town, and the people vacant, and very importunate, they judged that he might do God and his church more service in that great place. And, indeed, his own inclinations carried him most that way, upon some peculiar reasons. He removed with his family thither in the spring, 1657, where he was entertained with much respect and great solemnity: and there he laboured faithfully and diligently in the course of his public ministry, private instruction, visiting the sick, till August 24th, 1662, that black day, wherein so many were sentenced and struck dead in law as to any public service.

The annual income of this vicarage was very small, not amounting to above £30 a year; yet there was an augmentation added of £50 a year by Queen Elizabeth, upon an itinerant preacher, which had been long fixed upon the minister of that place. There were four of them in Lancashire; this was one; and £200 per annum was paid out of the revenues to those four: this was paid by several trustees at the audit.

At the return of King Charles II., one Mr. Stanninghaugh, parson of Augham, worth £140 a year, about two miles from Ormskirk, rode up to London, and, by the help of friends, surreptitiously obtained this £50 a year to be settled upon himself; which gave occasion to

some persons to reflect upon a sermon which Mr. Heywood preached at Ormskirk, upon a day of thanksgiving for the king's restoration, upon 2 Sam. xix, 30, "And Mephibosheth said unto the king, Yea, let him take all, forasmuch as my lord the king is come again in peace into his own house:" which was indeed an excellent discourse, greatly approved, and highly applauded by all, especially the gentry, who earnestly solicited him to print it; but he refused, not out of disloyalty, but modesty; not because he durst not own his sovereign, but he was not willing to be much taken notice of in the world.

Mr. Heywood digested this disingenuous act of his neighbour and pretended friend with great equanimity and calmness; and it proved a worm to the one, and a blessing to the other: for, though this Mr. Stanninghaugh's parsonage was £140 a year, and his tenement was £30 a year, and this £50 yearly, and he had no child; yet he left nothing at his death but debt, and his wife in a poor condition.

But it pleased God from that time to bless Mr. Heywood's small income incredibly: and it is next to a miracle to consider what great things he did, when, shortly after, he was turned out of all, and yet he paid some debts, and maintained his numerous family in a good decorum; for he had nine children. He took a lease for three lives of a house and land, paid £60, built a good part of it; paid £30 for buying out a lease elsewhere; maintained his two

sons at school at Holland, which cost him £14 a year; sent one to be educated in university learning; besides many sore sicknesses in his family. Yet such was the blessing of God, that he waded through all, without contracting any debt, but rather increasing his estate out of his small income. This holy man was very sensible of this strange providence, and often expressed it with admiring thankfulness.

CHAPTER II.

In the year 1662, August 24th, the Act of Uniformity struck Mr. Heywood civilly dead, with the rest of his brethren; howbeit he continued his public preaching in the church after that day, without disturbance, till the place was filled up with a new vicar, one Mr. Ashworth, a schoolmaster, who lived six or eight miles from thence, taught his school, rode thither on Saturday, and back on Monday morning; and was absent all the week for several years: so that Mr. Heywood still seemed to have the sole charge of that town, visiting the sick, instructing them, praying with them, preaching privately to them, as occasion was offered. He was abundant in the work of the Lord, not only in his own parish, but at Wigan, Warrington, Liverpool, Preston, Eccleston, and, upon a call, in more remote places.

But in his own parish, and among his old hearers, he was in labours more abundant: he usually preached twice on a Lord's day, sometimes several times in week-days, ordering his labours in several parts of the parish, both in the day and night. Yea, in times of great danger he has preached at one house in the beginning of the night, and then gone two miles on foot over mosses, and preached toward morning to another company at another house.

Nor was he scanty and short in his sermons, but usually very long, two hours at least, often three; yea, sometimes he would have continued four or five hours praying and preaching. His heart was so fully set upon his Master's work that he forgot his own strength, and his hearers' patience. Nor did he tediously dream over his work, but was full of zeal, vigour, tenderness, and affection, often straining his voice beyond what his natural strength could well bear, which occasioned torturing and mortal diseases. Like a candle, he spent himself to give others light.

Neither was he a mere voice, and no more, as some preachers that, like thunder, give a loud crack, without a distinct sound or significancy. His sermons were stuffed with solid divinity, Scripture arguments, alluring similes, heart-melting passages. He was an excellent text-man, producing solid interpretations; an experienced casuist, resolving cases of conscience with great satisfaction; a clear disputant, stating controversies solidly and substantially

answering objections learnedly and distinctly and proving the truth demonstratively. He was a pathetical preacher, driving the nail home, in close convictions of conscience; warm exhortations to conversion, or to particular duties; plain and undeniable directions; still laying open and obviating Satan's wiles, the deceits of a bad heart, and the ensnaring insinuations of a wicked world; rifling the conscience by a thorough examination; comforting God's children with gospel promises.

This indeed was his masterpiece and main scope in his preaching, to lay open the excellences of the blessed Jesus, and sinners' great necessity of him: displaying, in lively colours, the love of God in sending his Son; the love of Christ in the unparalleled work of redemption; the offices, purchases, and undertakings of the Son of God; unfolding the covenant of grace, the operations of the Spirit, and in applying the merits of Christ. The truth of this appears in two excellent discourses, printed since his death, transcribed out of his own notes, as he preached them the same year in which he died. The one is called, "Christ the best Gift," and is grounded on John iv, 10; the other entitled, "Christ the best Master," grounded upon John xiii, 13. These two excellent treatises are bound up together, printed after his death; for he would never be persuaded to publish any thing; though, doubtless, they would have been more accurate, if he had imagined they would have seen the light. But such as they are,

they have proved very acceptable and profitable to the church of God. Many have read them with pleasure, and some good divines have quoted passages out of them.

His labours in the ministry were so exceedingly welcome that the loss of him in public work was greatly bewailed by the whole town and parish: he was beloved of all, good and bad. A poor ignorant man came to him when he was turned out, saying, "Ah, Mr. Heywood, we would gladly have you preach again in the church." "Yes," said he, "I would as gladly preach as you desire it, if I could do it with a safe conscience in conforming." The man replied, "O sir, many a man now-a-days makes a great gash in his conscience: cannot you make a little nick in yours?"

That was a remarkable passage which fell out at Ormskirk, on July 30th, 1662, which Mr. Heywood thus describes in a letter to a friend: "About four o'clock that day in the afternoon was dreadful thunder and lightning for a long time together; and in the town of Ormskirk, and about it, fell a great shower of hail in a terrible tempest. Hailstones were as big as ordinary apples; some say nine inches in compass. One stone that I took up was above four inches, after it had thawed in my hand. The hail broke all our glass windows westward; we have not one pane whole on that side. So it is with most of the houses in and about the town. It hath cut off all the ears of our standing corn; so that most fields that were full of excellent

barley, and other grain, are not worth reaping. It hath shaken the apple trees, and, in some places, bruised the apples in pieces. The hail cut boughs from trees; and some say there are strange apparitions in the air, of which I shall give you a farther account. All, especially the ignorant, were much terrified, thinking it had been the day of judgment. Certainly it was a sad sign of God's displeasure with us; and I wish it be not a presage of more abiding judgments. They tell me that my small share of loss will amount to ten pounds at least. In half an hour all this hurt was done. The Lord sanctify this sudden stroke to me and my poor people!"

Mr. Clark, in his examples, hath this story, and mentions Mr. Heywood's attestation of it; which yet I thought fit to relate here; partly because this is fuller than he relates it; partly to show how observant this holy man was of the remarkable providences of God. It was his observation, that this natural storm was a sad presage of a moral storm on ministers and churches, which fell the very month after, that rooted up so many useful fruit-bearing trees, marred so much good fruit, and shattered the glass by which the light of saving truth is conveyed into the house of God.

This good man was so endeared to this people that he was resolved never to part from them till death made the divorce. Of them thus he writes:—"I have a loving though poor, docile though ignorant, people. They flock in very great numbers to the ordinances; and I

have hopes of doing some good (it may be already begun) among them. I had some notion to conform; but I will not change on any account whatsoever. Let me have your prayers; help me for this poor people, whom I love as my own children, and long after in the bowels of Christ."

He had frequent distempers upon his body, which much promoted God's work upon his heart. In the year 1667 he had a violent distemper, which in a fortnight's time brought his body very low: and, by the time that he was recovered, his wife fell into a languishing disease, which threatened death, besides grievous afflictions in her spirit, and sad apprehensions of death for above a month together; a swelling in her throat, which increased to a hard tumour in the hollow of her throat, which inevitably, in the eye of reason, threatened death; but, beyond all expectation, God graciously removed that, and raised her up again in mercy to the family. In the year 1670, his son Nathanael was strangely taken with convulsion fits, which tortured and distorted his face, limbs, and every part of his body in a prodigious manner; but God also at last raised him up upon the prayers of his people. These providences found him work for, and quickened his spirit in, prayer.

In October, 1671, Mr. Heywood fell into a malignant fever, which (as his two doctors, Dr. Fife and Dr. Grundy, said) had seized the nerves, and spirits, and brain. He was not

in extremity of pain, because (as the physicians said) the disease lay not so much in the blood. Upon the thirteenth day after he began, he was judged to be past recovery: Dr. Fife (a boisterous man, and justice of the peace in the Fild-country, near Garstang) called for a candle, and bade him open his mouth; which, when he had looked into, he swore a great oath, and said, "His tongue is as black as a thrush. Call the mistress of the house; let him set all things in order, and make his will; for he is a gone man." These words astonished his family; but his own and only surviving sister, being present, and hearing these confident expressions, gathered encouragement, and thought within herself, "This is but a man, and may be deceived. God is God, and can confute him." Thus Dr. Fife left him as hopeless, and said, it was in vain to give him any thing. But before he came to his own house, at Houghton Tower, a fever seized violently upon the doctor himself, and, in a few days, made an end of him; so he never returned home alive. But from that very day Mr. Heywood began to amend, the fever abating. It is likely that was a crisis, when the disease was at its height; for it was a dreadful day and night. He had all the symptoms of death upon him; but God had mercy upon him, as upon sick Epaphroditus. (Philippians ii, 27.) God had much work for him to do. But he continued under weakness, and some disorder in his head; for he could not be persuaded that he was at home, confidently

affirming he was at Bickerstaff, where indeed he was immediately before his distemper began, to visit Sir Edward Stanley, who was begun in a fever, and died shortly after: Mr. Heywood would needs be helped to the window to see the funeral pass by to the church.

CHAPTER III.

This sore sickness was in the year 1671; and the king's licenses came out in the year following. And, indeed, hitherto he had very little or no disturbance in his preaching. God was preparing him both for service and suffering. This sickness preceded service. God laid the foundation low, designing to build high; and often he thinks fit to lay the fairest colours upon a sable bottom. So God passed the sentence of death upon him immediately before this little resurrection; for, in the spring following, came out the liberty to preach. Mr. Heywood cordially embraced it, and had two chapels licensed, namely, Bickerstaff, adjoining to Lady Stanley's house, two miles south from Ormskirk; the other was Scaresbrook, two miles north from the church, both in Ormskirk parish. These he supplied constantly; preaching at the one chapel one day, at the other the next Lord's day; of which he thus writes:—"I bless God, my congregation is numerous and

attentive. O that they were as fruitful! My family is healthful: O that they were more holy!"

He continued two years in these two chapels; but about April 9th, 1674, he thus writes:—"I have had more trouble and opposition in my ministerial employment these four months last past, than ever I had in all my life. Archers have sorely grieved us, and shot at us thirty-four arrows, I mean warrants; but our bow abides in strength, by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob. Officers have come eighteen Lord's days together, but have not as yet scattered us. How easy is it for God to save us, while we serve him, if we could believe! I am encouraged to hope that some good is done, or may be done, by my poor labours in this season; and it is no ill sign when Satan rageth so violently against us. God can work without or against means, and can work by improbable means to accomplish great ends. I was never more inwardly borne up under storms, nor strengthened against difficulties, in all my life. It may be that my time is short, and my work near an end. O that I may live and die in God's work and way, and be faithful unto death! Dear brother, let my condition have a deeper impression on your heart than ordinary. Two warrants (one for £20, the other for £40) have been out against me these seven weeks: but we keep our doors fast barred, and the officers are very civil to us. O that I could see you! I have no horse, but go all my journeys on foot."

November 13th, 1674, he thus writes:—"I bless God, my liberty, notwithstanding all my troubles, is not wholly lost, but sometimes disturbed. We meet in fear, yet we meet in both chapels. No warrant has been sent for a month or more, and my auditory increaseth again. O that I had a heart to improve late experiences and present opportunities, and do my duty, leaving the issue to Him that judgeth righteously!"

But his excessive pains, though refreshing to his spirit, were wasting to his body; for about that time thus he writes:—"I am still at work in both chapels; but I am much cast down with pains and weakness of body, having overgone my strength, and wasted myself in these intervals of liberty which God hath given us. But I have no reason to repent any thing I could ever do for so good a Master. O that I had done more and better!"

About the same time he writes thus:—"Some assaults Satan hath made upon me with a right-hand temptation. The whole parish of Aughton have been importunate with me to put myself into a capacity for their parsonage, (worth seven or eight score pounds per annum;) the bishop (that is, Dr. Wilkins) promiseth favour to me in it; but God did not leave me so much as to have any serious thoughts to yield to that temptation. I preach still, but not so constantly, nor in so full a congregation, as formerly. Dear brother, I beseech you, for the Lord's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, strive together with me, in

your prayers to God for me, you know for what."

At last, after many strugglings, threatenings, affrightings, people's withdrawings and rallying again, a stratagem was contrived to silence him at once. The deputy-lieutenants sent some soldiers to take Mr. Heywood in the pulpit; and though it was known, yet they met in Bickerstaff chapel. Lady Stanley came out of her gallery, and placed herself near the pulpit-door, hoping to overawe their spirits, and obstruct their designs. The soldiers stood without while Mr. Heywood was at prayer; but when he had prayed, they rushed in, and required him to come down, and go along with them. He mildly desired the favour of them, that they would give him leave to preach, and he would go along with them; but they rudely ran toward the pulpit. The lady would have stopped them, but they pressed forward, opened the pulpit-door, got hold of his coat and tore it, and in a sort pulled him out, and took him away with them: nor could the lady's mediation prevail to procure him a little refreshment; only in the road he grew faint, and desired them to call with him at an alehouse, which they did, and the landlady (though he had no acquaintance with her) was exceedingly kind to him, and said he should have any thing she had in the house; "but those rogues that took him," said she, "shall not have a morsel;" so they carried him away to an alehouse in Holland, where he lodged that night, and from whence he thus wrote to his wife:—

"I am very well, I bless God, and never in greater honour, or so highly advanced, in all my life. I was pulled out of the pulpit with a pistol lifted up at my head, and a profane oath in mine ears; but the man repents his rashness, and wishes he had let me preach, for he never heard a better prayer, &c. But be not troubled, God hath showed me more mercy than I can be thankful for. O help me to praise him! O what cause have we to rejoice in suffering upon this account! God will have glory, and his church the benefit. But I fear it must be an imprisonment, or promise not to preach, which is my very life."

But God in his gracious providence also scattered this cloud; for the day after, when it was noised abroad that Mr. Heywood was taken, abundance of people, and many considerable gentlemen, and some that were no friends to his cause, out of respect to his person, mediated for him; yea, several of good report, and intimate with the justices, offered to be bound for his appearance, and to give any security that should be required. The justices then tendered him the Oxford oath. He was in a strait; for if he peremptorily refused it, they had some advantage against him. He told them that persons must swear in judgment, and therefore he desired some time to consider of it; which was consented to. And seeing such an appearance of persons of all ranks for him, they gave him respite, and liberty to go home till the next quarter-sessions, which was to be at Wigan a

month after; but they bound him to appear at the sessions.

Thus he was delivered out of that snare, and went home, and wrote a letter that day, dated January 28th, 1674: "Pray help me to praise God, and remember a poor sufferer for the gospel in your prayers. People do so throng in to see me, now I am come home again, that I have not time to write fully to you, but commit you to God and his protection, that you may long enjoy and fruitfully improve that sweet liberty in God's vineyard which I doubt I have lost."

The sessions at Wigan came on: he attended there according to his bonds. Several justices appeared for him, and his friends came to see the issue, and to mediate for him. Old Lady Stanley came herself, and her husband; Mr. Henry Hoghton, a justice of the peace, Mr. Christopher Banister, of Bank, and several others, spoke much on his behalf. Another justice, then upon the bench, said, "If Mr. Heywood be sent to Lancaster jail, he will be as comfortably maintained, and as honourably released, as ever any prisoner was." Some of his adversaries, seeing which way the court inclined, slunk away in a discontent, took horse and rode home; so the snare was again broken, and Mr. Heywood was dismissed, to the joy of his friends, vexation of his enemies, and amazement of all that heard of it.

Other snares were laid to entrap him upon the Five-Mile Act; but nobody could be brought to

swear that he lived in the town, though Mr. Heywood was usually at home, and conversed openly in the town, he was so generally beloved. A warrant was issued out to distrain upon Mr. Heywood's goods for £20; but the officers said the doors were shut, and they had no orders to break them; yet they might have taken advantage, if they had been severe; but indeed they were generally very favourable. It is true, the doors were kept fast for half a year together, and they never got a pennyworth of his goods, which was looked upon as a wonderful providence; for children and others were frequently passing and repassing through the doors, both before and behind his house. God took him off his work by men's rigour, and obstructed his former diligence by his own immediate hand upon his body, at the same time; and thus he writes:—

"May 7th, 1675. I am glad your precious liberty is continued. I have nothing to do now at home, but am much abroad, which is a heavy burden to me. Pray increase your fervent prayers for me. Riding is very painful to me."

January 1st, 1675–6, he writes thus:—"I am now very busy, blessed be God. These holy days, so called, when others play, I work, having preached oftener hereabouts in a few days than I did in the whole year. I was lately at Chester, (being compelled thither by the importunity of friends,) where I preached thrice, and had great encouragement. God hath much people, I believe, in that place: they would persuade

me to live with them; but I am resolved to stick here yet, where Providence hath so eminently settled me, preserved, and provided for me. My lads seem to be inclined to the ministry. Who knows but God may be fitting instruments for his work in the next age? For my part, I can see no reason to look for any thing but judgments in this."

He was always a zealous and notable champion against papists, of whom there be great store in those parts. When Mr. Heywood has been sent for to visit sick persons, (in which work he was constant, careful, and sometimes successful,) popish friends or neighbours would often procure some popish priest, or one of their religion, to come also to them; and if they had but the least pretence to give it out that the party died in their faith, they would wonderfully insult over the Protestants. One person dying with whom Mr. Heywood took abundance of pains, and a popish priest also frequented that house, who was so vexed that he could not prevail with the party that he wrote some queries for Mr. Heywood to answer; which he did so acutely and solidly, that the ignorant priest was nettled and puzzled, and sent to one of their more learned advocates to vindicate their desperate and falling cause. He made a large rejoinder, with abundance of quotations out of the ancients: to which Mr. Heywood made a learned and sufficient reply; only it was lame because he had not by him the authors quoted. He therefore sent the papers to Mr.

Illingworth, (an excellent scholar, and at that time much conversant in the college library at Manchester,) who took abundance of pains to search and read over some large volumes to satisfy and solve a quotation which referred not to book, chapter, or page; however, they joining together, that work was incomparably done, worthy of an impression; but they heard no more of that gentleman, (for so the popish priests are called,) though he had often to do with them.

Another passage he wrote in a letter, dated June 12th, 1675, to this purpose:—"I do just nothing almost, either publicly or privately; it is much worse with me than before the indulgence; yet God hath of late employed me another way, not so delightful and according to my genius as preaching. A gentlewoman, inclined to marry a popish gentleman, would not marry till she had satisfaction that it was lawful from some divine; and pitched on me to resolve the case, which I did very freely and plainly to her once or twice. I never dealt so plainly with any person in my life, and yet she took all well; whereas she fell out with her nearest relations and best friends for speaking but a little against it. She would needs have my reasons in writing; and having got them in a large dissuasive letter, she showed it to the gentleman, and he carried it to a priest; and twelve days after the letter, he brought me a long and subtle answer; to which I made a large and, I think, satisfactory reply. In the meantime we endea-

voured to divert her to other matches, but all in vain; her affections were too strong for her judgment, though she seemed to approve and consent to my reply, yet went on with the gentleman, and was just about to be married; so that I could expect no other fruit of my labour but my own satisfaction that I had done my duty, leaving the event to God. God, however, appeared in the mount. One Mr. D., (a hopeful young gentleman, of religious parents in Cheshire,) coming very accidentally to A., and finding this lady there, was struck with love, courted her, and married her in eight days' time. Such a providence must not pass without particular notice, and special praise to God. The young gentleman came thither also for a diversion, upon the like occasion; yet knowing nothing of her, but designing another place, was turned by a minister in his company to take a night's lodging at A. This is the talk and wonder of the whole country, the shame and confusion of the papists, (who had a design upon that family, and were confident it was their own,) the joy of all good Protestants, and of all friends to that worshipful family. I want and crave your help to give due praise to God for answering prayers so wonderfully."

Another thing which greatly exasperated the popish party was a sharp sermon which Mr. Heywood preached upon November 5th, 1673, at Scaresbrook chapel, upon Revelation xviii, 4; a very learned, judicious discourse against the papists; which, together with the forementioned

provocations, so offended them that (though they could not take full revenge on him themselves, yet) they prevailed with some justices to prosecute him. And this is thought to be the true reason of all that unparalleled rage of some against Mr. Heywood; whereas several others in the same circumstances as culpable were let alone to enjoy their meetings quietly.

CHAPTER IV.

In the midst of these employments and oppositions, God was pleased to lay a very afflictive distemper upon his body, which for a long time was judged to be the stone or gravel. Certainly it was exceedingly acute and painful; yet it is disputable whether his loss of gospel liberties, or his violent bodily distemper, was the greater affliction to him. His riding about six or seven miles, in the year 1675, rendered his pain scarcely tolerable. Thus he writes:—"I have now this last ill fit discovered more of the cause of it than ever before. I am very confident it is not the stone. Want of health and liberty, believe me, are two sore evils. I hope you will particularly help me with your prayers for direction as to health, but more especially as to restoration of liberty in my beloved work; the loss of which is a greater grief than the want of health and ease."

In another letter, dated July 15th, 1676, he

saith, "I have endured extreme pain and torment for a month together. The pain made me roar and tremble, and so shrunk my flesh, and weakened my body, that I apprehended death to be approaching. The good Lord fit and prepare me for it, and account me worthy to find mercy in that time of need! My pain was occasioned by the great heat, and preaching that hot weather oftener and longer than I was well able. I am sure that I have the greatest reason to submit to his holy will, yea, and be thankful also, that though he hath afflicted me very sore, yet he hath not given me over to death; whereas I hear of many that are dead of late of my distemper: Bishop Wilkins, cousin John Crompton, and several hereabouts, within these two months. I beg your prayers, that if God spare my life, he would also give health and liberty to improve it in his service, more publicly and fruitfully; or if it be death, (which will be less unwelcome, because of my restraints, pangs, and troubles in this world, only my wife and children make the thoughts of it burdensome,) may God be glorified. I hope it will be my advantage. I wish neither you nor any faithful minister, that minds and loves his work, may ever know what I have felt in the want of people and work. Other afflictions are light, compared to a dumb mouth and silent Sabbaths."

Yet, notwithstanding all this affliction, he had a great desire, once again, if it were the will of God, to visit his friends in Yorkshire: and God was pleased to grant his request; for he gave

him some mitigation of his pain, which was an encouragement to undertake that journey; so himself, his wife, and his two sons travelled into Yorkshire, April 20th, 1677. There he preached the sermons that are since printed; and another most excellent and pathetical sermon upon Romans v, 8. From thence he sent his eldest son to be trained up in academical learning, with Mr. Frankland, at Natland, in Westmoreland. But O what affectionate parting was there! as if they must never see one another's faces again. And indeed so it proved. They could not speak to each other, for weeping and sobbing. He desired another to pray; for he could not refrain. In that journey he was carried out beyond himself in praying, preaching, discoursing, to the admiration and edification of all his ancient friends in those parts, though he had frequent returns of his wonted pain. He was as a man coming down from heaven to tell what is done there; or as one ripe for heaven, too big for earth, upon the wing to take his flight into those mansions above; as indeed it proved.

After he had done his work which he designed in those parts, he left Yorkshire on May 1st, 1677; but could reach that day only ten miles. The next morning he went to Rochdale. He was forcibly detained by the importunity of Christian friends, and preached there that evening, though greatly to his prejudice as to health: the day following he reached Bolton; yet, saith he, with great difficulty and hard hewing,

they got home on Friday night; and it would have been a great inconvenience to have stayed one day longer on several accounts, which he mentions. Thus God carried him abroad in mercy, and brought him seasonably back to his own house in safety.

How much he was satisfied with this journey, (though his pains were extreme several days after his return home,) his letter, May 14th, 1677, testifies. "The great mercy," saith he, "in my late journey to you, comforts with you, and safe return home, (where we found all well,) I hope I shall never forget. Pray help me to be thankful for them. I do heartily thank you for all your pulpit, table, house, and country kindness. I am sorry and ashamed that I made no better improvement of them, not knowing that ever I shall enjoy such opportunities again of doing myself and others good in your parts; but an indisposed body, and a bad heart, mar duties and waste mercies."

His distemper still prevailed upon him all that summer. In a letter, dated September, 20th, 1677, he saith: "I am far from being well; and as the church once complained that she forgot prosperity, so I health; and am ready sometimes to add, as she, 'My strength and my hope are perished from the Lord.' This day five weeks I came from the exercise at Toxteth park, where I had preached twice, and oftener than I was well able a little before. Since that day I never came on horseback, nor preached but once near home; but all this time

God hath been preaching to me with a terrible thundering voice. O that I could hear the rod, and who hath appointed it! So sharp and so long a fit of pain I never had since this distemper began. God alone knows what may be the issue of it; but for my part, though I find it no easy matter to look death in the face, and conquer the difficulties that precede and attend it, yet I have no great reason to love life, or to desire my long stay in this wicked weary world. My pained days and wearisome nights make thoughts of death and the grave less terrible, and apprehensions of rest with Christ most welcome and pleasant. But I feel natural inclinations working toward life, and to loving themselves with the fair glass of doing God more and better service in his church. I am best resolved, and most at anchor, when I can (but O how seldom! how coldly! do I) say, 'The will of the Lord be done.' Dear brother, pray for me, (as I would do for myself,) that to me to live may be Christ, and to die, gain. Yesterday for some hours I was in extreme torment, but am much easier, I bless God, to-day; but my pain is not in the same manner as formerly, but like an ulcer in the bladder, which makes my disease more dangerous as well as painful. It is the Lord's mercy that I am not utterly consumed, that I can sit thus long to write to you, which many times I cannot; but I am now weary with it."

The last letter (so far as I can find) was by him dated October 23d, 1677, which I shall mostly transcribe:—

"My dear Brother,—This evening I received yours, for which I thank you. It breathes nothing but love and comfort to me. O how sweet! how seasonable! love in you, O how tender! Especially I thank you for your prayers, and the prayers of others by your means. I account them a precious treasure, and the surest and speediest remedy in all troubles. O pray again! Who knows but that may prevail when nothing else can. I have been sensibly better since that day of your tears and groans. But who am I that any should be concerned for me? a poor, weak, useless wretch, nothing, and less than nothing. I have been long, in regard of work, in God's vineyard, a withered branch, a dry stick; and now my body is withered like the grass, my skin parched, my moisture dried up through extremity of pain, which hath continued nine or ten weeks, day and night. About a month ago, friends seeing death in my face and looks, they prevailed with me to send for Dr. Grundy, who found me in a languishing condition, yet not without some hope. He told me, my distemper was not the stone, nor ulcer in the bladder, (which I feared because of my sharp pains and soreness,) but a dysury; my blood was vitiated; my moisture sour; and there wanted due separation of the serum from the blood; that it would require much time and patience to bring the body to a good state, &c. For since I have been taking one sort or other of physic: and am now taking a diet-drink for the scurvy, which I think hath done me most

good; but still my pain continues, though not altogether so acute as at the first. But I have very weary, restless nights: many times I am constrained to get up, and walk two or three hours. But God supports; his word comforts in all, and over all; his ways are mercy and truth; it is his mercy that I am not consumed; yea, it is mercy and faithfulness that I am afflicted. I have reason to say, I could not have been without it; nay, I would not have been without this trial for an earthly kingdom. If God please to spare my life, and restore strength, I hope others will find that I have gained considerably by this seasonable adventure.

"I am your indebted and endeared brother,
N. Heywood."

His distempers, growing thus upon him gradually, wore away and weakened his body, and took out the pins and plucked down the stakes of his frail tabernacle. He wore away insensibly: his friends, seeing he had strength to walk, did not apprehend his end so near as indeed it proved. On Thursday, December 13th, 1677, they perceived him to alter, and grow something worse than he had been, not so much in the violence of pain as in the decay of spirits, and falling into drowsiness and slumbering. That very day he said, with tears running down his face, that he could willingly die if it were the next hour, but for the good of the church and his poor wife and children; and

with them he could be content to live, were it in prison. That night, being ready to go to bed, he sat down in his chair, and looking up toward heaven, moved his eyes very much. His wife asked him, how he did: he could not answer, as she supposed; but soon after he said he would go to bed. Being got to bed, he fell into the like trance, and lay for a while speechless. Being better, he looked about him, and saw them weeping, and said, "If you knew Christ better, this carnal affection would cease, and natural would be sanctified, and run in a spiritual channel. O learn to know Christ more! For my own part I have preached Christ all my life, and, I bless God, with good success. It is common with many now-a-days to have base and low thoughts of Christ; but if I had twenty lives to live, I would spend them all in his work."

On Friday a kinsman that was come from London visited him, but he was so weak and listless that he was very unfit for converse; and indeed at the best he was sparing in discourse. He used to speak little; but what he spake was very pithy, pertinent, and sententious.

On Saturday night, Mr. Starky, a reverend and godly minister, visited him. He asked him whether it was any trouble to him that he did not conform. He answered, "No; it is a great comfort to me." This he spoke with much cheerfulness, adding some more words to evidence his satisfaction in what he had done and

suffered. Mr. Starky asked him what promises he could now rely upon, or what Scripture passages supported him. He answered, "For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain," Phil. i, 21. "Christ hath loved me, and given himself for me," Gal. ii, 20. He was frequently repeating those words, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly."

About four hours before he died, being asked how he did, he answered, "Very well." His last words that he was heard to utter were, "Come away, Lord, come, come!" and so he breathed out his soul on the Lord's day morning, December 16th, 1677, about nine o'clock; so God made the day of his hard and sore labour the day of his entrance into his eternal rest.

CHAPTER V

It is worthy of observation, that God hath drawn off many eminent ministers and choice Christians from the stage of this world, near or upon that day. This holy day of heavenly rest hath commenced upon them the everlasting day of rest in heaven. They parted with this jarring music on earth, to be joined to that celestial choir above. This our brother often made melody in his heart, though he was not very tunable in his voice below: now the high praises of God are sounded by him, and at the great day,

soul and body shall make a melodious concert in that blessed harmony.

And now this holy, learned, industrious man of God is advanced above guilt, corruption, temptation, and persecution, pains of body, fears of spirit, disturbances in God's worship, imprisonments, confiscations, banishments. O what a blessed state have they above taken possession of! Happy souls, that are safely lodged in the arms of their Redeemer!

As for the interment, it was judged meet that this solemnity should be put off till Wednesday, December 19th, 1677, that distant friends might have seasonable notice; and on that day Mr. Starky, a nonconformist minister, preached an excellent sermon in the parish church at Ormskirk (no man forbidding him; nay, all that were any way concerned consenting) upon Colossians iii, 4: "When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory." There was a vast confluence of all sorts of people at his funeral, great lamentation, and there were many signal demonstrations of universal love and respect, which he had from all the country. His body was laid in the chancel, and burying place which belongs to the ancient family of Stanleys, of Bickerstaff, knights and baronets, with their free consent and desire. The reverend minister that preached, after he had acutely, learnedly, and profitably handled his text, gave a short but full account of him, in his several capacities, as minister, husband, father, friend, and especially as a Christian.

And as the echoes of the hearers gave testimony to the truth of what was spoken, so to their sad resentment of their irreparable loss; all the town, in their several capacities, doing him honour in their peculiar way. Mr. Constable (the chief officer in the town, of considerable authority) carried the staff (like a mace) before the corpse; and the rest walked in their due and decent order.

Now although this was insignificant to the dead, and not edifying much to the living, yet decent burials have always, among civilized nations, been accounted the duty of the living, and an honour to the dead. This good man honoured God while living, and God honoured him at his death, and advanced his soul to better and eternal honour.

Mr. Heywood went to his grave in peace, after all his tumultuous tossings upon the tempestuous sea of this world. He died in the forty-fourth year of his age, having lived long in a little time. I find several choice men taken out of the world about that age. The famous Dr. Whitaker died in his forty-seventh year; and our famous Mr. William Perkins lived but forty-four years, being cut off by a violent fit of the stone.

And indeed we have frequently observed, that laborious ministers are short-lived. Some are of weak constitutions, and spend their lungs with speaking; or by a sedentary life contract diseases, or are fretted with the untowardness of their people; or God in judgment takes them

away as a punishment to a wicked world. However, like a candle, they spend themselves to give light to others. Many young men are very zealous, and make haste with their work, and get it quickly despatched, and go to rest betimes. O, how many promising plants have been plucked up of late years, that were laden with choice fruit; while some withered trees, barren and fruitless, still stand cumbering the ground! But the sovereign Lord knows what is fittest, and doeth all things well.

A little while before Mr. Heywood died, he said to a friend, "I think this turning out of our licensed places will cost Mr. Yates and me our lives. O this goes heavily! Our casting out of our great places was not so much as casting us out of our little places." And, indeed, Mr. Yates, of Warrington, died shortly after

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CHAPTER VI.

Having thus given a brief account of Mr. Heywood's birth, life, employment, and death, I shall select some few characters of him, imitable by his surviving brethren, friends, and hearers; for the memory of the just is blessed; and possibly generations yet to come may reap benefit from what they find recorded of him. I dare appeal to the God of truth, that searcheth hearts, that the description I shall give of him

is true, which I have by personal knowledge or credible testimony.

1. As to his proportion, physiognomy, and constitution, these were comely enough: no part was lacking, crooked, or deformed. He was tall and straight; had blackish curled hair; not fat, nor very lean, yet fatter in his body than he seemed by his face; of a healthful constitution mostly after he was past his childhood; which might have continued long, had not the vessel been cracked by impetuous dashings. His over driving took off the chariot-wheels; for all agreed that his excessive pains laid the foundation of those diseases that at last wasted his spirits. He was an excellent footman, and could walk both fast and far; and in his last distemper walked much, and found most ease therein. In his best health he was an extraordinary sweater, especially in his preaching; his sweat hath dropped at his hair-ends, and wet his band all over. Letters were wet in his pocket through the linings, as if put in water. It may be that sweating was some advantage to him; and that when he could not take that pains to sweat, and thereby evaporate those humours, they might settle, and gather into acute diseases. Yet want of leisurely cooling might prejudice him. Once old Mr. Woods and he preached an exercise in a chapel in a hot summer-day. The number of people was too many to come within hearing. Mr. Heywood having preached first, Mr. Woods withdrew the assembly into a large field, where that excellent, solid, laborious

man of God preached under a shady tree; Mr. Heywood, sitting in a chair, got an extreme cold, which cost him dear afterward.

2. As to his disposition, he was naturally choleric, being of a sanguine complexion; but such was the predominance of grace that it did very little appear in him, being regulated and rectified with that corrective of God's fear, which turned his natural constitution into a spiritual channel, and put a due bias into it. He was much transported in the affection of love, where reason dictated a discovery of the loveliness of the object, both in spiritual and natural things. In his younger days he was judged to be inclined to melancholy, sitting sometimes silent, and poring upon something; and so he was in his last distemper. Yet at times he was very cheerful and facetious; and this (with recreating himself with his children) was all the recreation that he used for many years. He was indeed wonderfully witty and ingenious when he slacked the strings a little, and applied himself that way, which was very rarely; his mind being ordinarily intent upon more necessary business in his study, or soul concerns.

3. As to his entrance into the ministry, and his judgment in ecclesiastical points, he was (according to his education) a strict presbyterian, avoiding prelatical authority on the one hand, and congregational democracy on the other. Upon his first settling at Ormskirk, he presently applied himself to the ministers of that class in that division where God had cast

his lot; and after trial and approbation of his ministerial abilities, learning, and fitness for that place, consent of the people expressed, he was solemnly set apart by fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands, to the work of the ministry, in a public congregation, to the great satisfaction of all that were concerned. The reverend ministers that laid hands on him were Mr. Thomas Johnson, of Halsall; Mr. Thompson, of Sefton; Mr. Edward Gee, of Eccleston; Mr. Bell, of Highton; all worthy, eminent men, and some others.

4. As to his ministerial labours, I shall add little to what hath been said. He willingly was spent in the service of his Lord and Master. He prayed and wept, preached and sweated, in public and private, in season and out of season; he constantly preached twice a day, catechised, exhorting, admonishing with all long-suffering. He was much in spending days in solemn fasting and prayer with Christian friends in his parish and elsewhere. He loved and delighted in the communion of saints; so that those few Christians in those parts lamentably bewail the loss of him as their pastor and leader, their prompter to, and helper in, those spiritual exercises. His heart was set to do good to all, but his delight was in God's children. He refused not to come and visit the poorest and wickedest, that either sent for him, or that he judged would make him welcome, or where he had any hopes of doing good. He was diligent in visiting the sick, and took great pains with the ignorant.

procuring catechisms for them that were willing to learn, instructing them, and using ingenious artifices to bring them into a love of religion, and engaging young people to learn.

5. He was exceedingly meek and patient, not only in bearing his bodily pains with an invincible spirit; but enduring the affronts, reproaches, and various indignities that were offered him, with a heroic cheerfulness; yea, he gloried in them as the afflictions of Christ; his spirit was so sweetly calmed that none ever heard him revile or speak evil of the instruments, but many have heard him pity and pray for them. It is true, his spirit was sometimes so disturbed that he would dream of them, and mention them in his sleep; but still he bore a compassionate heart toward them, and would often bewail their condition: though some of the townsmen, and others, thought some prosecutions were malicious and unreasonable, not fit to be named, yet he freely forgave all, as an offence against himself, and affectionately prayed for their repentance, and the pardon of their sin against God; often saying, "If this be the worst they can do, we shall shift well enough." He had in some considerable degree learned that hard lesson our Lord teacheth, Matthew v, 44: "But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you." This is a great height of true Christianity, to do good, and bear evil, bear our cross, and follow Christ with patience and self-denial.

6. He was very faithful to his friends, and looked upon the bond of friendship as sacred and not to be violated, whether in the business of counselling, and keeping secrets, or preserving and performing the trust reposed in him; and this was not small, nor from persons inconsiderable, and this upon several accounts; putting himself to much cost, many troubles, and some inconveniences, rather than seem by negligence to falsify his word, or in any respect to fail of his duty. It was conscience of his duty toward God that awed his spirit in those cases wherein no mortal could detect or punish him for neglect. He was marvellously obliging in his deportment; very taking in his discourse, with such as he could be free with, instructing the ignorant, indulging the impotent; by words or carriage manifesting his dislike of sin, but encouraging those that discovered any sparks of true piety, however they might differ from him in some things; for he was of a catholic spirit.

7. He was very humble and self-denying, which was the ornament of all his other graces and eminent qualifications: this indeed was his master-piece. He had always very mean thoughts of himself, and of his own undertakings, disliking others' commendations of him; which indeed were to him like a thunderbolt, as the German divine said of men's praises; yea, he would even cover his face with shame, and modestly blush when any spoke well of him. His maxim was rather to be, than seem, good;

not affecting triumphs, but approving his heart to God; being more pleased with God's gracious acceptance, and the consciousness of his own integrity, than affecting the favour of great ones or the applause of the vulgar: though there was scarcely any minister that had such general approbation, or flocking after him; yet his spirit was not lifted up therewith. In him was verified the observation, that honour is like a shadow, which, being pursued, flies away; and the more a man flies from it, the more it follows him. He could never be persuaded to print any of his labours, though he was often solicited thereto; for he judged nothing that he did worth exposing to public view; he so far disliked the humour of ostentation that he abstained from doing that which might have been profitable to the church. Though his sermons were elaborate and accurate, yet very pathetical, which he desired to be conveyed only to the ears and hearts of his hearers. His modesty locked up his lips in company, unless he had a just call to speak; and he spoke with great judgment, and as much humility and submission to better judgments, but always with great advantage to his hearers. He was mild in his censures, and spoke well of others' well-meaning undertakings. He commended all that in any thing were praiseworthy, and envied them not that honour which was due to them.

8. He was much and mighty in prayer. He had an excellent gift in confessing sin, petitioning for mercy, and thankfulness to God for

mercies received. He did with apt and proper Scripture expressions wrestle with God in prayer. O how frequently and fervently did he pour out his soul to the Lord with sighs and groans, strong cries and tears! He had a large measure of the Spirit of adoption, and was usually large, and much enlarged in that duty, especially upon extraordinary occasions. Though he had long used to go to God alone, yet in his last sickness he was more abundant in closet prayer. His wife and children, coming to him, have often found him upon his knees. And the Lord gave many signal impressions upon his spirit, and remarkable returns of his prayers. Many years ago, when his wife was dangerously sick at Godley, in Yorkshire, nigh to death, he told her she must not die at that time. She demanded of him why he thought so. He answered, "Because my heart is much enlarged in prayer to beg for thy life:" accordingly God raised her up at that time. And he hath often taken notice of the frame of his spirit in prayer for several sick persons; and hath taken his measures from his straitness or his enlargedness, and it hath often proved suitable to his presages.

9. He had a great measure of faith, both as to spiritual concerns and temporal affairs. As to the former, grace had helped him in soul-troubles to trust God in the way of a promise, and at last buoyed up his faith into a full assurance. As to the latter, he was trained up in the life of faith many years; a wife and nine small children,

being turned out of all, having nothing beforehand, and knowing not in an ordinary rational way where his subsistence must arise: this put his faith hard to it; yet committing his all into God's hands, he was strangely supplied, as if he had been fed by ravens, or as Israel in the wilderness. "O man, great was thy faith!" O Lord, great was thy bounty! It is true, he was often afraid of discontent and murmuring, but plucked up his spirit, saying to his wife, "Let us pray, and wait on God; he never failed us yet; come, let us trust him." This he spoke with great alacrity; and he often took notice, that, at a pinch, God sent a seasonable supply by unexpected means. Help came in so strangely that he resolved to set down punctually what he had received, and of whom. He said once to a friend, "I cannot but wonder how God sends in money just as I need it. He drops it into my hand by sixpences and shillings most seasonably: and the review of these experiments much strengthens my faith, and engages me to thankfulness." This course he had taken for above twelve years, and advised his friend to the same course. From his multiplied experiments, he gathered great encouragements. He often wondered at the unaccountable provision which God made for him and his.

10. He was of a loving, peaceable frame, much addicted to peace. He was not willing to fall out with any: and it was strange if any fell out with him; for he gave not any just oc-

casion at any time. Testimonies and instances might be produced wherein he complied to the utmost extent of what he judged lawful, to avoid giving any offence; and sometimes receded from his right, for peace' sake. It is true, he was a man of contention, as the Prophet Jeremiah was; but it was his grief, and made him cry, "Wo is me!" and besides, it was rather passively than actively that he was so. Men contended with him, rather than he with them; and it was in the matters of his God and conscience; and he was resolved rather to obey and please God than men. In this he was as a sturdy oak; in other matters, a bending ozier. If at any time he was angry with others, anger did not ferment into malice, or long rest in his bosom; he sought reconciliation with them; and if any had taken offence at him, he sought to win them by loving means, and methods of kindness. He was not only a peacemaker, reconciling neighbours that were at distance; not by sitting with them in the alehouse, (as the manner of some is,) but by Christian advice, counsel, prayers; healing differences in God's way. He preached an excellent sermon upon mutual love, from Eph. v, 2; an excellent duty from an excellent pattern; discovering a spirit full of gentleness, sobriety, moderation. He sought to calm men's minds, and lay the wind of passion, that the word might take place; "for the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace," James iii, 18.

11. But though he was of a peaceable spirit to condescend to any thing lawful for peace' sake, yet not so flexible as to recede a hair's breadth from truth, or well-fixed principles. He was an attractive loadstone, yet an inflexible adamant in the cause of God. He well understood his own latitude; and as he would not groundlessly withdraw by wanton curiosity, so he would not be led aside into sin to please a friend, or prostitute his conscience to men's fancy. Others might perhaps judge it a needless preciseness, or obstinacy; but he could not turn his sails to their wind, or dance after their pipes, though he had manifold temptations on all hands from great and small: but he was of Paul's mind and practice: "To whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the gospel might continue with you," Gal. ii, 5.

12. He made great proficiency daily, both in learning, grace, and holiness. Having laid a low foundation, he built a stately, visible superstructure. It might be said of him, as of the apostle of the Thessalonians, "That his faith did grow exceedingly, and his love to Christians abounded," 2 Thess. i, 3. The pearl grew too big for the shell; his head soared above the clouds, and his heart mounted heavenward. And as he grew in faith, love, meekness, zeal for God, love to souls; so above all, in humility, self-denial, and contempt of the world. As he travelled up and down to do good, so he travailed in birth over poor sinners. Possibly

some may think Mr. Heywood took too much upon him, and was too sedulous in his pains, both in the face of danger, and to the hazard of his health; but, as to the one, Calvin's apology was his: "Would you have me found idle when my Lord cometh?" As to the former, his answer and actings were justifiable by a like instance in the life of Olevian, who asked them whether he must suspend his preaching at that time for fear of danger; or whether they desired to hear him as formerly. The people all with hands lifted up, and loud voices, cried out, "We beseech thee to preach." Thus the necessities and importunity of the people extorted work from this poor man. His heart was upon it; and, being engaged, he regarded not any carnal arguments from flesh and blood, or self-preservation. The last sermon he preached at a friend's house in the parish was as a swan-like song, pithy and sententious, ardent and affectionate. As before he exceeded others, so then he exceeded himself; as if he knew beforehand that it was the last. Thus his last was more than his first; and the nearer the centre, the quicker was his motion. He was full of matter; as if he were at a loss for time to do the remainder of his work in, that he might despatch it all, and be at rest.

13. He was very charitable to the poor, and such as were in necessity. And though his small revenue and constant charge somewhat bound his hands, yet they could not restrain his spirit. He drew out his soul to the hungry.

And, indeed, true charity is seated rather in a large heart than liberal hand. The *imprimis* of a willing mind finds acceptance when the *items* of alms run but shallow. To his power, many will bear him record, yea, beyond his power, he was willing; freely welcoming objects of pity, stirring up his hearers to free contributions, especially in behalf of the godly poor, whereby the bowels of many were refreshed by this brother. Hence it was that he that sowed bountifully did then (and much more now) reap bountifully. For "the liberal soul shall be made fat; and he that watereth shall be watered also himself," Proverbs xi, 25.

14. He was a great admirer, and a profound preacher, of the glorious gospel, especially in the giving of Christ; and, indeed, this he made the main scope of all his preaching. It is true, he oft preached law and terror, to awaken men's consciences, and drive them out of themselves to Christ. He often pressed duty in a circumspect, exact, and holy walking; and urged a spiritual and diligent worshipping of God: but still demonstrating, that "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." It was his proper genius, and most suitable to his evangelical spirit, to know and preach nothing but a crucified and glorified Redeemer. He much enlarged upon the gospel way of the justification of a sinner. His thoughts ran upon this theme, sleeping and waking; so that once he was heard in his dream to say, "There are vast heaps of free

grace." His heart was greatly enamoured with the love of God in sending Christ. This was the proper element in which he moved: and few dived into that unfathomable ocean of love so deep as he did.

15. He was a zealous defender of truth, and impugner of error. He did strenuously contend for the faith once delivered to the saints. He much delighted in the form of wholesome words, and loved not new-coined phrases, which are apt to amuse men's minds, and instill into them poisonous principles. He loved and used sound speech that cannot be condemned, as well as sound and orthodox truth; standing at an equal distance from legalists on one hand, and Antinomians on the other. He had a strange sagacity in discerning persons, things, and doctrines that swerved from, or suited not, the Scripture dialect. He kept close to the analogy of faith; yet was not against proficiency, or a modest improvement of knowledge. He had the advantage of many years' intimate converse with that ancient and learned divine, Mr. Thomas Johnson, of Halsall, a man of vast parts and unwearied studies. He told Mr. Heywood, (his intimate friend,) that it much repented him that he had spent so much time in reading books, and studying controversies, that might have been more profitably improved in conversing with and instructing his ignorant and carnal neighbours. Let ministers think of this; for one soul won to God by personal conference will tend more to God's glory,

and a minister's comfort, than a thousand notions got by reading. Howbeit, a due mixture of a contemplative and active life must needs be the best.

16. He was good in his relative condition. He was an obedient child, an exceedingly kind husband, a tender-hearted father, an affectionate master, a faithful friend. He maintained a paternal law, authority, gravity, mixed with fatherly gentleness and lenity, and both with incredible prudence, that his children had not occasion either to slight him, or be discouraged by him. He instructed them with faithfulness; admonished them with tenderness; prayed for them with faith and fervency; and walked before them with a holy exemplariness and sincerity. As God had made him a Nathanael toward God, so a Joshua, resolving that he and his house should serve the Lord. It is a true maxim, that he who is not relatively good, is not really good. But he stood square for every duty in every relation. He kept his children much at home, being very jealous lest they should meet with temptations abroad; which occasioned many cares and prayers about their disposal.

17. He had attained to a considerable measure of assurance. Though he had walked in darkness, and seen no light in his first convictions; yet staying himself on the Lord, his God shone upon his soul with the light of his countenance, and he walked many days with the candle of God shining upon his head. How

frequently in prayer did he express his joy and gratitude for the everlasting consolation and good hope through grace of his own salvation! About two months before he died, one Lord's day, as he and his family sat together, he told his wife with tears in his eyes, that he had great troubles concerning his spiritual state, and some doubts about his condition, desiring her to pray for him. Yet the Lord dispelled those dark clouds, and in due time sweetly shone into his soul with the sense of his love.

18. He had a strong persuasion of God's care of his numerous family, both in point of education and provision. As God had graciously looked after them in his lifetime, so he had conceived great hopes of their supply after his decease. It is true, he had some temptations and sad thoughts concerning them; but at last faith got the victory over unbelief, and having left his sad widow with her better Husband, and his fatherless children with their heavenly Father, he was quiet; and these thoughts did not hinder his hearty welcome of his Lord when he summoned him by death. And therefore after he had by faith and prayer devolved the care of them upon the Lord, he freely acquiesced in his good providence about himself and them. On Tuesday before he died, getting into his bed, his breath being very short, his wife broke out into sore weeping; to whom he said, "Be not troubled; God will provide necessaries for thee and thy posterity for ever:" which brings to mind the passage of

Bucer, who, dying, stretched out three fingers, with his eyes lift up to heaven, saying, "He, he alone rules and governs all things." The event hath abundantly answered this good man's prediction and expectation.

19. It is very considerable that he had his desire in a leisurely lingering death. He had often expressed his willingness (if that were God's will) that death might come on gradually, and not surprise him; yea, he prayed that he might be long in his sickness, and also that he might be sensible to the last: the Lord did condescend to him in both these requests. He had been long habitually prepared, but he desired to be actually ready; for it is an important concern to die, and go into a world of spirits. This good man had frequent warnings, and continued strong in his intellect all the time of his illness. Upon Friday night his brother-in-law coming to him, asked him if he had made his will: he answered, No; he desired to have his son Nathanael at home when he did that. But perceiving that he was weakening apace, and that his time would not be long, being urged again, he consented, and sent for a clerk, and despatched that worldly concern that night; then he was in perfect composedness of mind, being but one night besides that till his death.

20. As he was highly qualified with personal disposition, Christian graces, and ministerial abilities, so God gave him favour in the sight of all with whom he conversed. It is true, he

had adversaries; but it was for the matters of his God, wherein his principles carried him to practices different from them: yet even those commended him for his parts and preaching. Yea, at death, some that had been bitter enemies were well reconciled to him. One instance was very remarkable: there was one Mr. Brownlow, an old gentleman that lived in the town, who had conceived a bitter grudge against Mr. Heywood, after King Charles's return, because he would not read the Common Prayer; but upon his death-bed he sent for Mr. Heywood, and entreated him to go to prayer with him.

Thus I have given a brief narrative of what was memorable in this holy man of God, and imitable by us. I may say to every one, "Go thou and do likewise." Let Christians pray that God would send forth many such labourers into his harvest, succeed their labours, and learn to improve such spiritual helps, that they may give a good account of these rich talents at last.

Extract of a letter sent by Mr. Nathanael Heywood to a Christian friend, May 1st, 1675.

Dear Friend,—I give you hearty thanks for your loving and godly letter; whereby I was much refreshed in those my late troubles, which indeed were many and heavy; yet in such a cause, and for such a Master, did I suffer, that I must needs say they were light and easy. O that God may have the glory, and others be encouraged! As sufferings for Christ did abound, so consolations abounded by Christ. Let the world know that suffering for Christ is the very element wherein Christ's love liveth and exerciseth itself, and his choicest cordials are reserved for such a time. I was, in a great measure, a stranger to the comforts and sweetness of Christianity, till I was singled out to bear the cross. He was pleased to seal my sufferings with the sweet sense and experience of unspeakable joy and peace. Had not some great persons interposed by their interest and authority, I had certainly gone to prison at that time, when I was taken by soldiers; and at the session shortly after, had not God raised up other friends (some of them justices) to frustrate the purpose and design of my enemies, who would have sent me six months to prison before the sessions, for living within five miles of this town; yea, would have convicted me among recusants for not coming to this church; but it pleased God, by a special providence, to

prevent that also. But, alas! all these troubles are nothing to that I am now mourning under, the loss of public liberty; a closed mouth, dumb and silent Sabbaths: to be cast out of the vineyard as a dry and withered branch, and to be laid aside as a broken vessel, in whom there is no pleasure, is a sore burden which I know not how to bear; my heart bleeds under it, as a sting and edge added to my other troubles and afflictions. This exercise of my ministry, next to Christ, is dearer to me than any thing in the world. It was my heaven, till I come home, even to spend this life in gathering souls to Christ. But I must lay even that down at Christ's feet, and be dumb and silent before the Lord, because he has done it, who can do no wrong, and whose judgments are past finding out. I am sure I have reason to conclude with the prophet, "I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him."

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